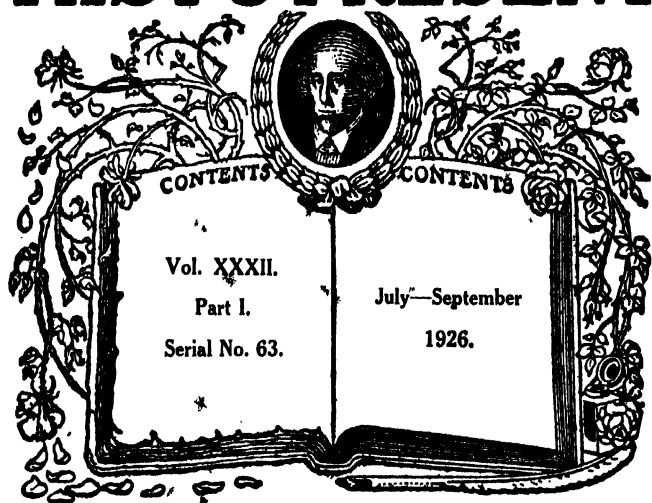


18939



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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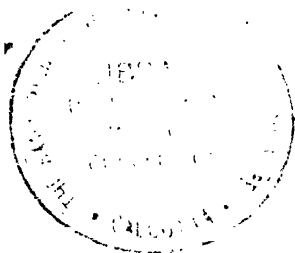
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The Death of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras.

(Extracts from the Records of the Government of India: III.)

THE documents which are reproduced below make astounding reading for modern eyes, even in times of general strikes and communal tension.

In May 1777 a Coroner's Jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against many of the leading members of the Madras Government, who thereon surrendered themselves to the Sheriff.

Lord Pigot assumed the Governorship of Madras in April 1775 and was very soon on bad terms with his Council because of his resolute efforts to purify the public service, and to check the prevalent corruption and speculation. In 1776 he went to Tanjore, where there had been a difficult succession question, and restored the Raja to the Gaddi. This brought upon him the hostility of Mahomed Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, who used his influence to have Pigot attacked and thwarted in the Council; among the Nawab's dependents was the notorious Paul Bensfield and Floyer who had been removed from Bengal in 1772 as a punishment for signing a letter, when on the Select Committee, which the Court of Directors considered to be insubordinate. The officer commanding the troops—Sir Robert Fletcher—was also among those who opposed the Governor. Lord Pigot gave orders for the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher and for the suspension of certain members of the Council. This produced an explosion. The "mutineers," for no other word can be used, seized the person of the Governor and placed him in confinement "some nine miles from Madras where he was left in an officer's house under the charge of a battery of artillery."* Lord Pigot was by now over fifty-seven years of age; the strain and the indignity to which he had been subjected proved too much for his health and he died a prisoner on May 11th, 1777. The Coroner's verdict brought in a verdict of wilful murder against all those who had been concerned in the seizure of the late Governor. This embarrassed the acting Government who applied to the Government of Fort William for the opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court upon the legality of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. The Supreme Court, as will be seen, considered this verdict to be irregular.

The full details can be read in the histories of Thornton and of Mill, also in Lord Mahon's History of England, while an excellent summary is given in the Dictionary of National Biography (1896 Edn.), Volume XLV

R. B. R.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,
Governor General, and Council at Fort William. (1)

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

On the 24th of last Month the Proceedings of an Inquest held on the Body of the late Lord Pigot at his Decease, were delivered into our Hands. The Verdict charged all the Gentlemen in the late Administration and sundry other Persons with the wilful Murder of his Lordship. All the Gentlemen accused who were at the Presidency, immediately surrendered themselves to the Sheriff, and as the Sessions were to be held in a few Days after, it became the Duty of the Justices to consider how they were to proceed in a Trial of so much Importance.

In the present state of this settlement it appeared to us very difficult, if not totally impossible to select Men sufficiently dispassionate to serve on the Grand and Petit Juries. We were also under some Doubt in respect to certain points of Law which might occur in the Course of the Trial. For these reasons We determined to adjourn the Sessions for such a Period as might afford Us time to remedy these Defects to the utmost of our power, by requiring the Assistance of some Gentlemen at the subordinate Settlements to serve on the Juries, and by applying through you for the best Information We could obtain upon the points of Law.

We beg leave in Consequence to enclose you a Copy of the Inquest, and also of the Bill of Indictment which was proposed to have been given to the Grand Jury, upon which the following Queries occur to Us as necessary for obtaining the Opinion We stand in need of.

Query 1st.—Whether the Justices ought to allow exception being made to the Coroner, as being appointed by the President and Council, and if such Exception be admitted, who has properly the power of appointing that Officer.

2nd.—Whether the Justices ought to allow Exception against Mr. Raim, the Coroner on the present Inquest on Account of another Coroner having been appointed by Mr. Shatton and the rest of the Gentlemen of the late Administration, or for his having at any time declined to officiate, supposing this latter Circumstance which is at present doubtful, should be found true?

3rd.—Whether the Justices ought to quash the Inquest on account of any of those Exceptions, or on account of Irregularities in the Proceedings should any such appear?

4th.—Whether all those Persons accused by Name should be indicted for Murder or for Manslaughter, or whether some only should be indicted as principals and the others as Accessaries before the Fact—and in this last Case, who should be Considered as principals and who as Accessaries?

5th.—Whether in Criminal Matters the Informations of Persons beyond the Seas can be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury?

6th.—Whether the Jurors that sate on the Inquest can be examined as Evidence before the Court and before the Grand Jury, or either?

7th.—Whether the Jury on the Inquest ought to be unanimous in their Verdict, and whether they may decide by any and what Majority?

8th.—Whether the Proceedings of the Inquest in case it should be quashed, can be demanded by the Grand Jury?

9th.—Whether, if the Inquest and Proceedings thereon should be deemed legal, the Examinations of such Persons as gave Evidence before the Coroner and who may forfeit their Recognizance by going to England may be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury on the Trial?

10th.—Whether any and what Challenge lies on the part of the Coroner or Prisoner against a Grand Jury Man?

Our President having acquainted us that Mr. Benjamin Sullivan who lately arrived here, had obtained Permission of the Court of Directors to come out to India to Act as a Barrister at Bengal. We thought it expedient in these times, to request of him to remain here for a few Months to afford us the Benefit of his Advice on any points of Law wherein We might have occasion to consult him; and it is with the Desire of this Gentleman that We have applied to you to obtain Information from such high Authority as that of the Hon'ble the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, whether in their official or private Characters.

Should there be any other Points besides those stated in the several Queries, whereon it may be necessary for us to have Information, We hope to be indulged with it—And as our Sessions are adjourned only to the 12th of November, it is of material consequence that We should receive your answer to this letter before that day or as soon after as may be possible.

We have the honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

FORT ST. GEORGE,
3rd October, 1777.

Your most obedient
humble servants,
JOHN WHITEHILL.
ANTH. SADLEIR.
N. CRAWFURD.

TOWNS OF MADRASPATNAM SS. (2)

An Inquisition indented, taken at the Company's Garden House distant about a Mile from Fort Saint George and within the districts of the Town of Madraspatnam aforesaid the eleventh day of May, in the seventeenth year of the Reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven Hundred, and seventy seven, before me George Andrew Ram Coroner of our said Lord the King for the Town and Districts of Madraspatnam aforesaid, on the view of the Body of the Right Honourable George Lord Pigot, Baron Pigot of Pateshull in the Kingdom of Ireland, then and there lying dead, and by adjournment at the House of George Smith, (Foreman on the said Inquisition) in the said Fort the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth,

sixteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, twentyfirst, twentysixth, twentyseventh and thirtieth days of the said Month, also the second, fifth, sixth, ninth, seventeenth, eighteenth, twentysixth and thirtieth days of the Month of June in the said year, also the seventh, tenth, twelfth and thirtieth days of July in the said year, also the fifth and seventh days of the month of August in the said year on the Oaths of George Smith, aforesaid Andrew Ross, George Baker, Thomas Powney, Thomas Pelling, John De Fries, Robert Ewing, George Taswell, Alexander Cuthbert, Robert Farquhar, William Parsons and John Turing, good and lawful Men of Madraspatnam aforesaid, who being sworn and charged to enquire on behalf of our said Lord the King, when, where, after what manner, and by what means the said George Lord Pigot came to his Death;—do say upon their Oaths “That George Stratton, Henry Brooke,—Charles Floyer,—Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and George Mackay in the Civil service of the English East India Company at Madraspatnam aforesaid; Brigadier General, Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel James Stuart, Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, Adjutant General, Captain Arthur Lysaght in the said Company’s service at Madraspatnam aforesaid not having the fear of God before their Eyes, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, on or before the twenty-fourth day of August in the sixteenth year of the Reign of our said Lord the King with force and Arms, within the Districts of the said Town of Madraspatnam, against the said George Lord Pigot, Governor of the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies then and there being in the Peace of God and of our said Lord the King, feloniously, voluntarily and of their Malice forethought did combine and conspire to seize, confine, and keep as a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot and to take from him the said George Lord Pigot the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its Dependencies and to place the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies in the hands of the said George Stratton,—And that in pursuance of the said Combination and Conspiracy the said Colonel James Stuart did accompany the said George Lord Pigot in the Chain of the said George Lord Pigot on the Road between the said Fort Saint George and the said Garden House between the Hours of seven and eight in the evening of the said twentyfourth of August in the year aforesaid, And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, aided and abetted by certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, armed with Muskets and Bayonets, the said Chaise then and there did stop, and the said Colonel James Stuart, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, together with the aforesaid Captain Arthur Lysaght, having and holding in his the said Arthur Lysaght’s right hand a Pistol, in and upon the said George Lord Pigot, then and there being in the chaise aforesaid in the Peace of God and of our Sovereign Lord the King did make an assault and the said George Lord Pigot did then and there put in Bodily fear, and the said George Lord Pigot did then and there seize and make a Prisoner, and did then and there compel and force the said George Lord Pigot to quit his the said George Lord Pigot’s Chaise aforesaid, and then and there to enter a Post Chariot belonging to Paul Benfield, in the said Company’s

Civil Service, into which said Post Chariot the said Captain Arthur Lysaght did also then and there enter, and the said Captain Arthur Lysaght, did then and there take with him the Pistol aforesaid, in order to restore, confine, and keep a Prisoner the said, George Lord Pigot in the said Post Chariot. And that a serjeant in the said Company's Service to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown was then and there present aiding and abetting the said Colonel James Stuart, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, and the said Captain Arthur Lysaght in seizing and making a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot in manner and form aforesaid. And that the said Post Chariot was then driven to Saint Thomas's Mount and between the Hours of Eight and Nine in the Evening of the said twenty fourth of August in the Year aforesaid did arrive at a House at the said Saint Thomas's Mount belonging to Major Matthew Horne commanding the corps of Artillery in the said Company's Service then stationed at the said Saint Thomas's Mount—and that the said Captain Arthur Lysaght then and there did cause the said George Lord Pigot to alight from the said Post Chariot, and him the said George Lord Pigot did then and there deliver over as a Prisoner to the said Major Matthew Horne, And that the said Major Matthew Horne did then and there receive the said George Lord Pigot as a Prisoner, And that the said Major Matthew Horne did then and there himself, and by the Aid and assistance of certain Officers and Soldiers belonging to the said Corps of Artillery then and there acting under the Command of him the said Major Matthew Horne to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown did then and there restrain, confine and keep a Prisoner, and did cause to be restrained, confined and kept a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said Major Matthew Horne, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, feloniously voluntarily and of his Malice Aforethought, *himself*, and by the Aid and assistance of the said Officers and Soldiers unknown, did restrain, confine and keep a Prisoner and cause to be restrained, confined and kept a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot at the said Saint Thomas's Mount, from the said twenty fourth of August in the said year, to the twenty eighth of April in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King, and from the said twenty eighth of April till the eleventh of May in the said seventeenth Year of our said Lord the King the said Major Matthew Horne by the aid & assistance of certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and a Serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown the said George Lord Pigot did cause to be restrained confined and kept a Prisoner at the Company's Garden House aforesaid, And that immediately after the seizure of the said George Lord Pigot was effected as aforesaid, to wit the evening of the twenty fourth of August in the sixteenth Year of the reign of our said Lord the King, in pursuance of the combination and Conspiracy aforesaid, the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer Francis Jourdan and George Mackay the said Fort did enter, and did take possession of the said Fort and did assume the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies, and did issue Orders,

the said George Stratton as Governor, and the said Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay as Council for the affairs of the said Company at the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies. And that the said Colonel James Stuart did return to the said Fort after the seizure of the said George Lord Pigot, to wit between the Hours of seven and eight in the evening of the Twenty fourth of August aforesaid, and did then and there aid, abet comfort and maintain the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay in taking possession of the said Fort.—That the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did issue an Order to the said Major Matthew Horne which was received by the said Major Matthew Horne, and by him shewn to the said George Lord Pigot in which said order were the following Words "*As the last resource in case of an attempt to rescue Lord Pigot his life must answer it, and this you will signify to him*" And that on the twenty seventh day of the said Month of August in the said year at the dead of night, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun did come with a Post Chariot to the House of Major Matthew Horne aforesaid, and did inform the said Major Matthew Horne and the said George Lord Pigot he the said George Lord Pigot then and there being a Prisoner, and under restraint and Confinement that he the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun had orders from the Governor and Council, meaning thereby the said George Stratton, the said Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay to remove the said George Lord Pigot from Saint Thomas's Mount aforesaid that very night, to wit the night of the said twenty seventh of August, And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun did refuse to shew the said orders to the said George Lord Pigot and also did refuse to inform the said George Lord Pigot to what Place he the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun intended to remove him the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said Major Matthew Horne and the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun then and there did make an attempt to put into Execution the said orders against the consent and entreaty of the said George Lord Pigot.—And that the said George Lord Pigot was then and there by the said attempt and by the refusal aforesaid thrown into a violent agitation of Mind and Body, and did declare that he the said George Lord Pigot would not be *removed alive* And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun and the said Major Matthew Horne, from the aforesaid attempt did at length desist. And that sometime in the Month of October in the said Year the said George Lord Pigot at the said Saint Thomas Mount then and there being a Prisoner under the said confinement did receive information that the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay, had an intention of forcing and compelling him the said George Lord Pigot to go on board some Vessel belonging to the said East India Company in order to transport him the said George Lord Pigot to Europe. And that on or about the

fourth day of January in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King the said George Lord Pigot at Said Thomas's Mount aforesaid then and there being and continuing a Prisoner, under the said restraint and confinement did receive information from Thomas Larkins, Commander of the ship *Lioness* belonging to the said East India Company that he the said Thomas Larkins had been applied to by one of the Members of Council, meaning by the word Council the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, and Colonel James Stuart to carry him the said George Lord Pigot to England, and that he the said Thomas Larkins had been threatened by the Person aforesaid that in case he, the said Thomas Larkins did refuse to take him the said George Lord Pigot on board the said ship *Lioness* as a Prisoner and to transport him the said George Lord Pigot to England as aforesaid, he the said Thomas Larkins should be deprived of the Command of the Company's said ship *Lioness*, And that the said George Lord Pigot was then and there under great anxiety and apprehension on account of the said Intention of transporting him the said George Lord Pigot to England and the anxiety and apprehension under which the said George Lord Pigot then and there laboured had a visible and apparent effect on the spirits and behaviour of the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said apprehension in the said George Lord Pigot of being transported to Europe was never entirely removed from the Mind of the said George Lord Pigot And that the said George Lord Pigot did frequently declare that he the said George Lord Pigot would not be forcibly removed from the said Saint Thomas's Mount whilst he had life, And that the said George Lord Pigot was by means of the Restraint, Confinement and Imprisonment aforesaid deprived of a great part of that exercise which before the said Confinement he the said George Lord Pigot usually took, and also of those occupations and employments to which he the said George Lord Pigot, before his said confinement was accustomed, And that the said Confinement of George Lord Pigot together with all the Circumstances of the said Confinement did so operate on the Mind and Body of the said George Lord Pigot, as to occasion a disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot the Consequence of which disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot was a putrid bilious fever and flux, the symptoms of which fever and flux on the Body of the said George Lord Pigot were first apparent about the eight of March in the said year, And that the said George Lord Pigot being of a good Constitution did in some degree recover from the said putrid bilious fever and flux towards the latter end of the said Month of March, but the said disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot still subsisting, and the said George Liver of the said George Lord Pigot still subsisting, and the said George Lord Pigot still remaining a Prisoner under the said Confinement did about the beginning of April in the said Year suffer a Relapse, and did again labour under a putrid bilious fever and Flux as before from which time, to wit from the beginning of April aforesaid to the twenty eighth of the said Month the said George Lord Pigot did languish and languishing did live a Prisoner in the said Confinement at Saint Thomas' Mount aforesaid.

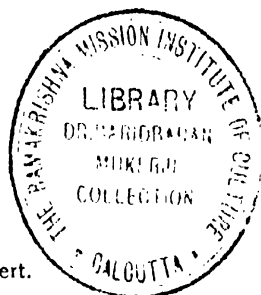
That the said Major Mathews Horne with the consent of the said George Lord Pigot and by the advice of Gilbert Pasley the surgeon who attended the said George Lord Pigot during his the said George Lord Pigot's said disease, did cause the said George Lord Pigot to be removed from his the said Major Mathew Horne's House at Saint Thomas's Mount aforesaid, to the said Company's Garden House the said twenty eighth of April for the benefit of the Sea Air, That on the Road between the said Saint Thomas's Mount and the said Garden House, the said George Lord Pigot was not confined or restrained by any Military Guard as he the said George Lord Pigot before, to wit from the twenty fourth of August in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King to the said twenty eighth of April had constantly been confined and restrained. And that on the said Twenty eight day of April the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did give orders to the said Major Mathew Hornes still to take charge of the Person of the said George Lord Pigot and him the said George Lord Pigot to imprison, confine and restrain at the said Company's Garden House as he the said George Lord Pigot had been confined and restrained and kept a prisoner at St. Thomas's Mount aforesaid, And that they the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did put under the Command of the said Major Mathew Horne certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and a serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown to be a guard over the said George Lord Pigot for the purpose of confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the Garden House aforesaid, And that on the said twenty eighth of April, and before the said orders relative to the confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the said Garden House were given to the said Major Mathew Horne, by the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and George Mackay, Gilbert Pasley the surgeon who attended the said George Lord Pigot during his the said George Lord Pigot's said illness, did represent to the said George Stratton, then about to consult with the said Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay, touching the placing of Guard for the purpose of confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the said Garden House that if it should come to the knowledge of the said George Lord Pigot that a guard was placed at the said Garden House for the purpose before mentioned it would irritate the disease under which the said George Lord Pigot then and there laboured, That the said George Lord Pigot from the said twenty eighth of April until the said eleventh May did languish, and languishing did live on which eleventh day of May in the year aforesaid, in the Garden House aforesaid within the districts of Madraspatnam aforesaid, under the confinement and restraint aforesaid of the said disease produced and occasioned as aforesaid he the said George Lord Pigot did die, and so the Jurors aforesaid on their oaths aforesaid say, that the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Mathew Horne, the said George Lord Pigot, in manner and by the means aforesaid feloniously,

voluntarily, and of their Malice forethought did kill and Murder, against the Peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity,—and the Jurors aforesaid on their Oaths aforesaid say that the said first mentioned Serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown the said first mentioned seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and the said officers and soldiers belonging to the Corps of Artillery to the said Jurors as yet unknown also another serjeant and other seapoys stationed at the said Garden House to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown, were at diverse times present aiding, abetting, assisting and maintaining the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Mathew Horne to do, and commit the Felony and Murder aforesaid against the Peace of our said Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

IN WITNESS whereof as with the aforesaid Coroner as the Jurors aforesaid have to this Inquisition put their Hands and seals the seventh day of August in the seventeenth year of the Reign of our said Lord the King, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and seventy seven.

(Signed) George Smith.
Andrew Ross.
George Baker.
Thomas Powney.
Thomas Pilling.
John Defries.
Robert Ewin.
George Tuswell.
Alexander Cuthbert.

(Signed) G. Ram,
Coroner.
Robert Farguhan.
William Panom.
John Ferring.



TOWN OF MADRASPATNAM. (3)

At the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery of our Sovereign Lord the King holden for the Town of Madraspatnam at the Hall of the said Town on Wednesday the Twenty fourth day of this Instant September in the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George now King of Great Britain, &c. BEFORE JOHN WHITEHILL, ANTHONY SADLER, QUINLIN CRAWFURD Esquires and others their Sociates appointed Justices of our Sovereign Lord the King of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery within the Town aforesaid, On which Day the Sessions were by the said Justices adjourned over unto Tuesday the 30th day of this Instant September to be held at the Town Hall of the said Town at Eight O'Clock in the forenoon of the same Day to do further as the Court shall then and there consider of

TOWN OF MADRASPATNAM. Ss.

The Jurors of our Lord
Present that George

King
Henry Brooke Charles
Jourdan and George Mackay

of Madraspatnam aforesaid Esquires in the Civil Service of the English East India Company at Madrapatnam aforesaid James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Matthew Horne all of the same Esquires in the Military Service of the said English East India Company at Madraspatnam aforesaid not having the Fear of God before their Eyes but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil on the Twenty fourth Day of August which was in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great Britain, &ca. with Force and Arms that is to say with Pistols, swords and other Weapons on the Highway commonly called the Island within the Districts of the Said Town of Madraspatnam in and upon George Lord Pigot Baron Pigot of Patsul in the Kingdom of Ireland a True and Faithful subject of our said Lord the King in the Peace of God of Our said Lord the King then and there being Feloniously Wilfully and of their malice aforethought did make an assault and Him the said George Lord Pigot did then and there Feloniously and Wilfully and of their malice aforethought seize and make a Prisoner and him the said George Lord Pigot did Feloniously, wilfully and of their malice aforethought keep and detain in Prison and Confinement whereof and whereby he the said George Lord Pigot languished and languishing lived until the Eleventh day of May in the Year aforesaid and then Dyed, under the Restraint and Confinement aforesaid and so the Jurors aforesaid on their oath aforesaid do say and Present that the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght, and Matthew Horne in manner and form aforesaid Feloniously Wilfully and of their malice aforethought the said George Lord Pigot kill and murder against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

TO THE JUDGES, (4)

Having this Instant received a letter from the Acting President and Councils to Ft. St. George upon a subject which they represent of great Importance to them, we take the Liberty to submit it with its Enclosures to you with the request that you will be pleased to furnish us with such opinions upon the questions referred to as therein, as you may think it proper to declare.

As these are official papers and We have not copies of them, We request that you will return them to us.

We have the honour to be,

FORT WM.,
The 24th Octr.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs, (5)

On a former occasion we held ourselves obliged to decline giving full and explicit answers to some Questions proposed to Us by your Hon'ble Board at the Desire of the Gentlemen then in Possession of the Government at Madras, because our Determination must have included a Declaration of the Lawfulness or Illegality of the late Revolution at that Presidency; which might have produced fresh Disturbance. But as we think that our opinion on the Questions now stated by the President and Council of Fort St. George in their Letter of the 3rd of this Month which you have communicated to Us, cannot be productive of Mischief and may tend to quiet the Minds of Men and to prevent any further proceedings in a Prosecution which appears to Us to be irregular, we shall answer each of these Questions without Reserve.

1 and 2 To the first and second Queries one Answer will suffice. It does not appear to us that there is any such officer as a legal Coroner at Madras. If the President and Council have a Right to appoint an Officer who can lawfully exercise the several Powers belonging to a Coroner in England, they must derive it from some Act of Parliament or from some Charter; but no Act or Charter which we have seen confers any such Right. It may be proper and convenient, in a settlement when there is no legal Coroner, that some of the principal Inhabitants should inspect the body of any one suddenly deceased, and that a Person appointed by the Chief Magistrate of the Place should assemble a proper Number of Inhabitants for that Purpose; but though in such a Case their Evidence at a future Trial may possibly be important, any Inquest that they shall presume to make on Oath will be absolutely void, and the Arraignment of a Culprit thereon utterly unlawful. Inquisitions taken before Coroners may be quashed or set aside either for formal Defects or material Irregularities, and unless there be some Authority for the appointment of a Coroner at Madras with which We are unacquainted, the Inquisition now laid before Us must be rejected as wholly null and void.

4th.—Whether a Man charged with the Death of another shall be indicted for Murder or for Manslaughter, as a Principal or as an accessory it is the Office of the Grand Jury to determine on consideration of the Facts proved before them. We can only give an Opinion on such Facts as are stated in Mr. Ram's Inquisition, from the Perusal of Which We cannot collect Materials sufficient for an Indictment either of Murder or of Manslaughter. Unlawful Imprisonment accompanied with such severities as apparently endanger the Life of the Prisoner may if Death ensues thereupon amount to criminal Homicide; but when the Mode of Restraint was not rigorous, nor the Plan unwholesome, he who has unlawfully abridged the Liberty of another will not be answerable for his Death, merely because the disease of which he died proceeded from Anxiety and Depression of spirits, the natural consequence of injurious Confinement.

5th.—In Criminal matters the Informations of Persons beyond the seas cannot be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury; unless perhaps in certain cases

attended with particular circumstances which are not stated or supposed in the present Instance.

6th.—The Gentlemen who attended Mr. Ram under the Denomination of Jurors may give Evidence both to the Grand and Petit Jury of what they themselves saw or know, but not of what was related to them, either with or without Oath, by others.

7th.—To the Validity of a Coroner's Inquest is necessary that the Major Parts of the Jurors agree in the Verdict, and that such Majority consist of at least twelve, so that if no more than twelve are sworn on the Jury they must be unanimous.

8th.—The Inquest being set aside, as we have supposed it must be, We do not apprehend that the Grand Jury can have a Right to demand from Mr. Ram or the Gentlemen who attended him, any of their Papers or Proceedings.

9th.—We are of opinion that the Examinations mentioned in the 9th Question cannot be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury at the Trial, both because Mr. Ram appears Us to be no Coroner and because the Depositions of absent Persons cannot be read in Evidence in a Criminal Suit, unless for special Reasons which do not appear to exist in the present case.

10th.—We apprehend that a Grand Jurymen though not liable to be peremptorily and arbitrarily challenged, may however be challenged for certain Causes by a Prisoner under Prosecution. We do not think it necessary to enter into a particular Examination of each of those Causes, but will here transcribe a short Passage from Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, which with the References that will be found in the Margin of the Book, under that Passage, may serve to direct in his Investigation of this subject, the Barrister by whom the President and Council of Fort St. George are at present assisted. "It seems" (says Hawkins) "That any one who is under a Prosecution for any Crime whatsoever, may, by the Common Law, before he is indicted, challenge any of the Persons returned on the Grand Jury, as being *outlawed* for Felony, etc., or *Villeins*, or returned at the Instance of a Prosecutor, or not returned by the proper Officers, etc."—2 Hawk. 215.

We herewith return (as desired) the several official Papers that accompanied your letter of the 24th Instant, and request that you will be pleased to communicate with all convenient speed, to the President and Council of Fort Saint George our Answers to their several questions.

The business of the Term and the indisposition of two of the Judges have been the occasion of your not receiving this sooner.

We have the Honour to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and
most humble Servants.

(Sd.) E. IMPEY.

(Sd.) ROBT. CHAMBERS.

(Sd.) S. C. LEMAIRRE.

(Sd.) JOHN HYDE.

FORT WILLIAM,
31 October 1777.

TO FORT ST. GEORGE, (6)
GENTN.,

On receipt of your letter dated the 3rd instant we made an immediate communication of it to the Chief Justice & Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature whose replies to the several questions proposed to them you will receive in the enclosed copy of their letter addressed to us on the occasion.

We are &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
1 Novr. 1777.

Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Dacca.

FEW cities in Bengal can claim, like Dacca, such a romantic past, such a glorious present, as the centre of the educational activities of our own time in Eastern Bengal, with every reason to look forward to a promising future. Although Dacca, to-day, is not even the shadow of her former self, her name conjures up a picture of the magnificence, the grandeur, the splendour of a great Eastern capital of bygone days. Her fine gossamer-like fabrics were known and prized throughout the civilized globe, before the birth of Christ. This is a heritage of which any city in the world may well be proud. Even in later times her history is crowded with thrilling episodes forming a regular panorama of events brimming with human interest.

2. The English East India Company's commerce in Dacca commenced in the latter half of the 17th century during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khan, perhaps the greatest Mughal Viceroy who ever wielded the sceptre of office in Bengal. He ruled from 1664 to 1677 and again from 1679 to 1689. It was during his regime that the Company's first Factory at Dacca was established in the year 1666. From the Factory records of this period it transpires that Dacca was at this period "a noted seat for calicoes". According to the famous French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Dacca in the beginning of 1666, the English Factory "was fairly good but not made of brick". (1) Tavernier also found that "Thomas Pratt was acting as the Chief of the Dacca Factory". (2) This Factory was at first a very modest commercial outstation; but thanks to the energy of F. Nedham and Harvey, two well-known officers of the Company, it was converted into a brick-built house in 1676 with the sanction of Nawab Shaista Khan.

3. The English now started a very profitable trade in Dacca fabrics. In the course of a few years after the establishment of the *pucca* Factory, "the sales of Dacca goods, principally muslins, for which the city had long been famous turned out so profitable that the Court of Directors raised the stock of the Company from £85,000 to £100,000. Through the busy mart of Surat, the Dacca Factors carried on a great trade in cloth, and although chanks and tortoise-shells were taken in exchange, the balance of trade lay so greatly in her favour that it was necessary to import specie direct which accounts for the appearance of Arcot rupees in Eastern Bengal." It is on record that the Dacca Factors used to send presents, occasionally to the Nawab in order to keep him in good humour. We

(1) Factory Records, 1665-7.

(2) *Ibid.*

know for certain that in the year 1678 they presented the Nawab with an Arab horse.

4. Encouraged by the commercial success of the Dacca Factory, the Court of Directors decided to set their various factories in Bengal upon an independent footing, and also to check the extensive private trade of the outsiders known as "the interlopers". For this purpose they appointed William Hedges on November 14, 1681, with special powers, to be their Governor and Superintendent of the English Factories in the Bay of Bengal with the title of "Agent of the Bay".

5. In the year 1688 an untoward incident happened at the Factory at Dacca. The then Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Bahadur Khan, under the orders of the Emperor Aurangzeb, wantonly attacked all the Company's servants at Dacca and Messrs. Eyre and Braddyll, two members of the Board who had gone to Dacca to negotiate for peace, were cast into prison. Relief however came with the arrival of the next Viceroy, Ibrahim Khan II, in 1689, who "reinstated them in their possessions and obtained for them from Aurangzeb in 1691 full authority to trade free of all dues and charges in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000". During this tumultuous period the Company are said to have suffered a loss of Rs. 40,000 at Dacca. The Dacca Factory was again closed between 1696 and 1699, but matters gradually improved, and in 1724, a new Factory was founded at Dacca by Mr. Stark. For the following 24 years the history of this new Factory has nothing unusual to record. But the year 1748 proved very unpromising for the Factory. We find from the records of 1748-9 (3) that a large force of Mahrattas approached Dacca from the Sunderbunds and came right up to Sundra Khal (4). They attacked the East India Company's Cossimbazar fleet and plundered the goods of the Dacca Factory then in the charge of Ensign English. For his failure to defend the Factory Ensign English was subsequently imprisoned, tried by Court Martial and dismissed. Again we find from the letter (5) of the Manager of the Dacca Factory, that in this year, Dacca suffered greatly from the depredations of *Mugh* robbers. The business of the Dacca Factory came almost to a stand-still and the Dacca and Judgea (6) Factors suffered considerably for want of food. The situation became so acute that they wrote in despair thus: "It is a great favour that we can procure common subsistence". To add to the gravity of the situation, the Dacca Factors somehow or other incurred the displeasure of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan in the following year (1749) when even the "common subsistence" which they were getting after the raid of *Mugh* robbers ceased. The following extract from the letter of the Chief and the Council of the Dacca Factory to the Board dated the 16th January, 1749 speaks about the serious situation created in the Factory:—"We have

(3) Pub. Dept. Cons., March 1748.

(4) The position of Sundra Khal is not given in Rennell's Atlas. But it appears to be one of the creeks with which the Sunderbunds abound.

(5) Despatch to the Court of Directors dated Fort William, Jan. 27, 1749.

(6) The position of Judgea in the Noakhally District is given in Rennell's Atlas. It was situated to the north of the Islands of Hatia and Sundcep.

received information of the Durbars, (Mughal) not only having taken *Mutchulkas* from all the tradesmen and *poddars* not to have any transactions with us, but from *Moodis* not to supply us with necessaries and provisions." This complete stoppage of the necessaries of life led to a mutiny amongst the soldiers and peons of the Dacca Factory. The Chief and the Council then sent this message to the Nawab's (Ali Verdi Khan's) officers:—"If provisions were stopped we must get them whenever we could, for it was better to die fighting than starving". It appears that this message had a salutary effect on the Mughal Durbar, for on its receipt "a small allowance was suffered to be brought in" for the Dacca Factors. We learn from the General letter of the Board to the Court of Directors dated the 27th January 1749, that the Company proposed to regain the goodwill of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan by presenting an Arab horse to him.

6. No event of any importance happened between the years 1750 and 1753, except that during this period some new appointments were made in the Factory and that at the instance of the Factors there was a proposal to remove the Jugdea Factory to Ramnathkhally (7). We find from the Despatch of the Board to the Court of Directors dated Fort William 13 January, 1750, that in this year P. Amyatt was appointed Sub-Treasurer, W. McGwire, Military Paymaster and L. Scrafton, Assistant at the Dacca Factory. Scrafton became a Councillor at Dacca in 1751. It appears from the Minutes of Consultation dated Fort William, 21 December 1752, that W. B. Sumner was appointed a Member of the Council at the Factory in 1752. We gather from the Minutes dated 27 November 1752 that the then famous Jagat Seth, Mahtab Rai, used to have monetary transactions with the Dacca Factory at about this period.

7. The documents of 1754 to 1757 record some very sensational reports regarding the Dacca Factory. We learn from the Despatch to the Court of Directors dated 1 March, 1754, that Raja Rajballabh (8) on

(7) Ramnathkhali was also known as "Ramanandakhali". It was situated in the Noakhali District, east of the Meghna river and its position is given in Rennell's Atlas.

(8) Raja Rajballabh, "Nawab" of Dacca, was the son of Raja Durlabh Ram, the East India Company's Dewan in the *Khalsa* Department. From his infancy Rajballabh learned *Khalsa* work under his father and was repeatedly "confirmed" by the East India Company to fill the post of 'Roy Royan' both on account of his "supposed" personal knowledge of revenue affairs, as well as on the score of his father's services to the Company. In a letter which Raja Nandakumar addressed to the Board (which was delivered to Phillip Francis on the morning of the 11th March 1775 when he brought before the Council some grave charges against Warren Hastings) Nandakumar severely attacked Warren Hastings for granting Rajballabh a princely salary of Five Thousand Rupees a month *plus* the revenue of the District of 'Dewan Gunge'. The following extract from his letter will speak for itself:—"The sum of 25,000 rupees is the stated annual salary of the *Mutsuddee* of the *Khalsa Sharif* to be paid in ready money and by *Jaghire*. Why Raja Rajballabh enjoys a salary of 5,000 rupees a month, exclusive of District of Dewan Gunge, the produce of which is very considerable and how the Company's interest was in this consulted remains with Mr. Hastings to explain". We find that in spite of the protest of Warren Hastings, Raja Rajballabh was dismissed from the post of the "Roy Royan" according to the Resolution of the majority of the Board dated Fort William the 18th October 1775. According to them the appointment of Raja Rajballabh was a "direct disobedience of the orders of the Court of Directors as contained in their General Letter dated the 28th August 1771."

becoming the "Nawab" of Dacca peremptorily demanded the usual visit from the Dacca Factors. The Board at first instructed the Dacca Factors not to pay the customary visit to him; but later on the Factors thought it prudent to compound with him for a sum of Rs. 4,300. In the year 1755 the Dacca Factors being again apprehensive that their trade might be interfered with and their goods stopped by the order of Rajballabh wrote a letter to the Board for their protection, (9) and it was decided by the Board "to despatch Lieut. John Harding of a command of soldiers, 25 *Buxaries*, (10) in order to clear some boats if stopped on their way to Dacca and to take them under his protection". In the same year (11) the Dacca and Jugdea Factors were subjected to insults from the Mughal Governments of those places which issued public orders to the effect "that no person there shall serve the Dacca Factory" and actually seized those who offered to serve it. To make things worse, next year Jasarat Khan, *Naib* of Dacca, under the orders of Siraj-ud-Daula, seized the Dacca Factory and imprisoned the Factors. The Factory was not restored to the Company until the following year (1757). We find from the Public Department records that "in the year 1761 Nawab Qasim Ali Khan asked from the East India Company's Dacca Factory the supply of some rich cloth".

8. The Dacca Factory, was not, however, destined to enjoy peace for long for in October 1762 the Factors heard disquieting rumours which form the subject matter of the following Minute:—"The various rumours that prevail in the country and the general insolence of the natives with the interruption put upon trade in general giving us reason to suspect that we shall be engaged in troubles when the season shall permit of carrying on operation in the field, it has been agreed to put the Dacca Factory in state of defence and get Sepoys from Chittagong". The troubles which the Dacca Factors anticipated came in July 1763.

9. In 1763 the Dacca Factory was captured by a body of *Sannyasis* or *Faqirs*. Mr. Leycester, the Chief of the Dacca Factory, abandoned it and he justified his action in the following words:—"Regarding the retreat and loss of treasure he (Leycester) knows not how it could have been avoided, nor what precautions could have been taken, that were not, to prevent the misfortune. The gentlemen of the Factory were fully sensible of the importance of saving their treasure and tried every possible method as they did for retreating in a regular manner". (12) This abandonment of the Dacca Factory on the part of its Chief, Leycester, received the disapproval that it merited, was called a cowardly act by the authorities and drew a diatribe from Clive in the shape of a Minute (13) dated 29 January 1766:—"Mr. Leycester's behaviour at Dacca," says Clive "when he aban-

(9) Pub. Dept. Progs. Vol. 1755 pp. 103-4, (Minutes of Cons. dated Fort William, 12 Feb. 1755).

(10) The *Buxaries* were 'matchlockmen' who were employed on duties similar to those performed by *Barkandazes* of a later period.

(11) Pub. Dept. Minutes of Cons. dated Fort William, 5 May, 1755.

(12) Pub. O. C. 16 Feb. 1764, no. 1 (a).

(13) " " 29 Jan. 1766, no. 2 (a).

doned the Factory which commanded a very considerable proportion of the Company's treasure and merchandise would in all probability have lost him the service, if General Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart to let him soften the paragraph written upon that subject in the General Letter ". The Dacca Factory was, however, subsequently retaken by the English and the *Faqirs* who were thus captured were employed as *coolies* in repairing the Factory (14).

10. Although about the year 1762 Qasim Ali Khan warned the *Faujdar*s, and other officers, not to interfere with the trade of the English *gumashtas*, *dalals*, or otherwise maltreat them (15), we find from a letter (16) written by the Dacca Factors to the Board dated 27th January, 1763, that Muhammad Ali, the Collector of the said Nawab, wrongfully usurped the properties of one Neholl, a *dalal*, of the company after his death and "put peons on his house". To protect their deceased *dalal's* house, the Factors sent "some *sepoys* for the security of the house." The Board also warned Muhammad Ali to desist from such wanton acts in future. It was in this connection that Mr. Cartier, the Chief of the Dacca Factory, wrote a letter of warning to Muhammad Ali (17), which being translated, runs as follows:—

" To
Muhammad Aly,

Sir,

The strange and violent proceedings of the different *Sickdars*, (18) Zemindars and Chowkeydars in the district of Dacca in stopping the English Trade, plundering their *gumashtas* and servants, and affronting their colours, oblige me, as Chief of the Company's affairs at Dacca, to apply to you for satisfaction for these insults, and to demand a reason for such an extraordinary conduct. I can scarcely believe, Sir, that these actions can be the result of your orders and much less Cossim Aly Khan's; but as you cannot be ignorant of the secret springs of them, I require of you a positive explanation concerning this matter. You must be sensible of the danger, an invasion of the privileges granted to the English must be attended with, and the resentment we have it in our power to show, and have shewn in instances of the like nature. I choose to communicate my sentiments by letter, well knowing the many mistakes that happen in sending and answering messages the *sense of them* very often being perverted".

11. I have given instances of the oppression practised on the Dacca Factory from time to time, but I do not wish any one to run away with the

(14) „ Progs. 5 Dec. 1763.

(15) „ „ 1763 pp. 126-7.

(16) „ „ 3 Feb. 1763.

(17) „ „ 17 Jan. 1763.

(18) The *Sickdars* were according to Wilson "Revenue officers or collectors appointed either by the Government or a Zamindar to collect the revenue from a small tract of country or from an estate. Under the Mughal Government it was sometimes applied to the Chief Financial Officer of a province or to the Viceroy in his financial capacity."

idea that the servants of the Factory were models of goodness and wholly free from blame. It appears from the letter (19) of Mahammad Ali, Collector of the Nawab Qasim Ali, to the Board that about the year 1763 "various forms of oppression and abuse of power" were practised by the *gumashlas* of the Dacca Factory on the subjects of the Nawab. We find on the authority of Warren Hastings (20) that about this period the Dacca Factors "sent a party of sepoys to Sylhet, on account of some private dispute, who fired upon and killed one of the principal people of the place and afterwards made the Zamindar prisoner and carried him away". To defend their action, the Factors wrote that "as their boats were being stopped and their trade and privileges interfered with by Nawab's (Mir Qasim's) agents, they ordered up *Sepahis* from Chittagong". The Board rejected this explanation and remarked: "It seems very probable from circumstances in Mr. Hasting's Minute that the *gumashlas* of the Dacca Factory have been the Chief causes of these disturbance; there is reason to fear that *gumashlas* and Agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade". The result was that the "Board consequently countermanded the marching of the *sepoys* sent by the Dacca Factory". The excesses of the servants of the Dacca Factory became at about this period intolerable to a degree, and Governor Vansittart had to draw the attention of the Court of Directors to this state of affairs. The following impassioned extract from Vansittart's note embodied in the Home (Pub.) Dept Progs. dated 1 February, 1763, will speak for itself:—

"Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed and where the English *gumashlas* shall be under no control, but regarding themselves far above the Magistrate of the Country where they reside, take upon themselves to decide, not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another, or is it possible that Government can collect their due revenue in such circumstances."

12. Warren Hastings' exposure of the Sylhet affair was greatly resented by the Dacca Factors who decided to retaliate by showing him up. Every student of history knows that the East India Company's servants in Bengal during the middle of the 18th Century were given to indiscriminate "private trade" for their own personal profit. Warren Hastings was no exception to this rule. In the year 1763 the Dacca Council complained to the Board to the effect that the "Agents of Hastings" were making illegitimate use of the *Sepahis* to further the private interests of their master. The defence of Hastings is embodied in a lengthy document which need not be reproduced here. The Dacca Factors who tried to malign Warren Hastings for his connection with "private trade", were, it appears from the records, themselves guilty of the same offence. The following extract from Governor Vansittart's letter to Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts (21) dated Monghyr, 15 December 1762, will throw some light on the subject:—

(19) Pub. I. O. Vol. 1762-4, pp. 33-4.

(20) Pub. Dept. Progs. Oct. 14, 1762; (see also I. O. Cons, 1762, pp. 143-5).

(21) Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts served the Company in the 18th Century in various capacities.

'I am very certain that many English agents and *gumashtas* and particularly those belonging to the Dacca gentlemen have practised a method of carrying on business called in this country *baria* (22) and *Kichaunt*, that is forcing the merchants and shopkeepers to take their goods at 30, 40 or 50 per cent. above the market price. The complaints I had of this and other oppressions practised by Mr. Chevalier and *gumashtas* employed under his direction were without number; when I desired Mr. Cartier (23) to redress those grievances, I was sure to receive from him in answer to a letter from Chevalier (24) denying all the facts, and so the enquiry stopped, but the complaints were received with fresh instances''.

13. During the years 1763 and 1764 Dacca was subjected to *dacoities* of a serious character. (25) It is interesting to note that on hearing that a number of *dacoits* had appeared before this city in 1764 and pillaged the properties of Mr. Ross, the then Nawab of Bengal "ordered Muhammad Reza Khan to recover his losses and directed him to call upon the assistance of the Dacca Factory for some *sepoys* to go in armed boats and endeavour to discover and root out the dacoits". It appears from the papers that "Mr. Ross had in cash on Board 5,800 rupees, moreovre, a silver tea pot and coffee pot, a silver rose water bottle valued at 80 rupees, 1 shaving box 30 rupees, 4 slaves 240 rupees, etc., the whole of his property was estimated at 13,000 rupees". It appears from the above inventory of the effects of Mr. Ross that the practice of keeping slaves was prevalent among the English in Bengal in those days.

14. Such was the East India Company's Dacca Factory from its foundation up to the year 1764, during the *regime* of the Mughal Viceroys of Bengal. In the year 1765, the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa passed into the hands of the Company and English influence became predominant in Bengal. Najm-ud-Daulah was still the reigning Nawab of Bengal, but his 'Court' was shorn of all its glory and he himself was nothing more than the puppet of a Mughal Viceroy—a mere shadow of the magnificence and grandeur of the proconsuls of Delhi. As a result of the transfer of the *Dewani*, Lieut. Swinton took over charge of the revenue of Dacca in 1765. Thenceforward the history of the Company's Dacca Factory is more or less of modern interest and outside the scope of this paper.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(22) "*Baria*" according to Wilson means "forcing people to purchase goods at more than market price." "*Kichaunt*" was a synonymous term.

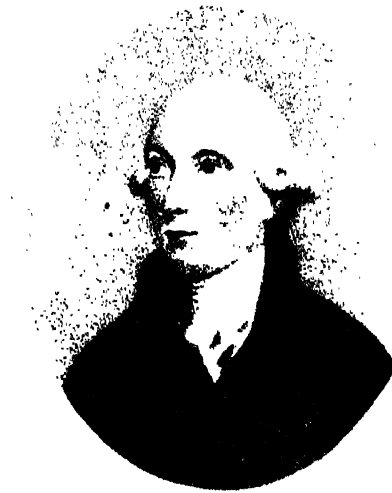
(23) John Cartier was the Chief of Dacca Factory about 1763. He acted as Governor of Bengal from 1769 to 1772.

(24) Mons J. Chevalier was the Chief of the French Factory at Dacca. He was afterwards Governor of Chandernagore.

(25) Pub. Dept. Progs. Feb. 21, 1763;

" " " Nov. 19, 1764.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XXXII.



(Painted by Plimer, 1788. Engraved by Cardon.)
Now in the collection of the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Memories of the Supreme Court: 1774-1862.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

IN the recently published fourth volume of his Memoirs, William Hickey supplies details regarding his contemporaries at the Calcutta Bar which are, as far as I am aware, not available from any other source, and were certainly not known to me when I compiled the "Memories of the Supreme Court" which were published at the close of last year in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, pp. 150-198). I have collated these references, which are scattered throughout the book, and now present them as additions to, and corrections of, my article.

Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal, who arrived at Fort Saint George on February 8, 1778, but did not reach Calcutta until a year later, married on February 15, 1777 "Miss Ramus of St. James's Palace," being then an advocate of the Middle Temple. Day is not, as I imagined, the person "formerly in India", who is mentioned in the Farington Diary (October 14, 1802) as one of the Prince of Wales's "Established Companions" at Brighton. This was Matthew Day, a Bengal civil servant "of convivial celebrity" who had held a lucrative post at Dacca, and went to Europe in discreditable circumstances with his friend Sir John Shore in the *Britannia* in August, 1798. He had, says Hickey (p. 199) "acquired a large fortune, according to public fame not by means strictly consonant either to honour or honesty, but very much to the contrary, and was so apprehensive of being attacked through the dire medium of the law by some of the many natives he had plundered as to induce him to keep his intention of leaving India a profound secret." He therefore gave out that his object in proceeding to the Presidency was to take leave of Sir John Shore: and having thus put his creditors off his track, he went on board the *Britannia* and remained there until the vessel put out to sea. His servants, who were left behind at Chaund Paul Ghaut with his pinnace and baggage boats, were then informed by his agent that he had sailed for America. He had, however, accompanied Shore to England and "soon after his arrival, became a crony of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to whom it was supposed he had lent money, people being at a loss otherwise to account for an intimacy subsisting between such a man as Mr. Matthew Day and the Heir Apparent." As regards Sir John Day, it remains to add that a coloured miniature portrait has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., the Agent to the Governor-General for the Madras States.

Interesting glimpses are afforded of the career of several of the early advocates. Stephen Cassan (November 12, 1782) filled the office of Sheriff in 1786. He was, says Hickey (pp. 3-4) an Irishman of good connections who had been William Dunkin's chum in housekeeping prior to his departure for Europe in January, 1789. "Contrary to the advice of all his

friends," he married Sarah Mears the daughter of a sea-captain who was wrecked in the *Brilliant* on her voyage out in 1782 and then commanded the *Egmont* Indiaman. She was "a strange, rattling, wild creature, profuse and extravagant in the greatest degree". Her extravagance was such that her husband "became so deeply involved in debt as to make a change of residence necessary." He therefore suddenly embarked for Bombay with a view to practice there as an advocate in the Mayor's Court, and was meeting "with all the success he could expect or hope for," when he was attacked by violent hemorrhage and died in 1794. His wife and son were left without provision and a fund, to which Hickey contributed, was raised for their relief.

An unpleasant picture is drawn of Charles Johnstone (October 22, 1783) who was a passenger on the *Brilliant* when she was wrecked off the island of Johanna. "A cynical disagreeable man", he was usually known as "Chrysal Johnston", as being the reputed author of a "famous novel" called "Chrysal or the Adventures of a Guinea": but Hickey never could consider him "competent to the execution of a work of so much ingenuity." He had been a contemporary student of Sir William Dunkin at the temple: and had come out to Bengal after running through a small estate which he had inherited from his father. Hickey says that he was ignorant, arrogant, and vain: and that he was called "Lying Charley" on account of his want of truthfulness. An amazing instance is related (p. 47) of his rudeness to Francis Macnaghten at a dinner party given by Sir William Dunkin.

Edward Maxwell (March 1, 1784) is mentioned (p. 103) as having embarked "in mere skin and grief" in Philip Francis' ship, the *Fox*. In 1793 he was "fattening himself up at a pastry cook's shop near the Manse." Three years later (p. 150) we hear of "the cidevant vigilant magistrate of Calcutta living very much at his ease", and, apparently, still abroad.

William Simpson (July 12, 1787) was the company's junior counsel at the time of his death in 1790. He was, says Hickey, the eldest son of "a gentleman who had for many years prior to the troubles in America, filled the office of His Majesty's Attorney-General at Charles Town, South Carolina," and was remarkably fond of field sports. "Being out upon a hunting party at a place called Aneelpore, about fifteen miles from the Presidency", he was attacked by a leopard or "a small tiger", which sprang upon him while he was scouring the borders of a thick jungle. He was thrown from his horse but was speedily rescued by his friends and conveyed to the camp, and thence on the following morning to Calcutta. The slightness of the wound which was on the fleshy part of the thigh, a little above the knee, deceived Mr. Dick, the Surgeon: but mortification set in and the patient died. Hickey makes mention of two sisters of Simpson who were in Calcutta with him, "very agreeable woman in whose society I lived a good deal" (p. 2).

John Shaw (October 26, 1789) acted as one of the Executors of Thomas Henry Davies, the successor of Day as Advocate-General (p. 66). Hickey and he "chummed" together in 1791 in "a very large and commodious residence in Garden Reach, the last in that line, about seven miles

and a half from Calcutta, beautifully situated within a few yards of the river, affording us the advantage of water as well as land carriage." Shaw usually went down at night and slept there: Hickey preferred the week-ends. "This partnership concern proved a very expensive one", writes Hickey (p. 27) "upon settling accounts at the end of the term for which the premises were engaged my share of the charges amounted to no less a sum than seven thousand three hundred and odd Sicca rupees." Some years later (1796) Shaw fell into financial difficulties (p. 133.) He was "in the way of making a rapid fortune in his profession" when he embarked in "a speculation of vast magnitude, that of monopolizing the trade in spices to the East Coast." As this was a business prohibited by the Company, he was obliged to carry it on clandestinely and was thus exposed to fraud and robbery by the commanders of the ships which he employed. The capital was supplied by Nemychurn Mullick "one of the most opulent natives in Bengal and an uncommonly clever man." Success seemed assured when war broke out with the Dutch and the English fleet took possession of the Spice Islands. Shaw's cargoes were seized and after two years' litigation, he was reduced to bankruptcy and departed for Prince of Wales's Island (Penang). Later on he returned to India and wandered from place to place, being provided with funds by a few friends.

We now come to Sir John Richardson (October 22, 1790) of whom we were obliged in our previous article to say that his career remained a mystery. Hickey enables us to lift the veil. In recording the death in May, 1795, at the age of sixty of this "heavy-headed barrister" (p. 126), he tells us that he was the reputed compiler of the Persian dictionary published under his name, "though those who were conversant with the language asserted that the whole had been stolen from Meninski." He came to Bengal, as he gave out, under a verbal promise from the Court of Directors that he should succeed Davies in the situation of Advocate-General. The post was however given to Burroughs: and the Governor-General "understanding that Richardson's talents as a lawyer were not likely to procure him bread generously and unasked appointed him a Justice of the Peace to which a very hand-some salary was attached." Hickey disputes his right to the title and status of a baronet. "He assumed it some time after his arrival in India upon hearing of the death of his elder brother who commanded the *Pigot* Indiaman at the time of my first voyage and who undoubtedly had succeeded to a baronetage but who, it was equally certain, left two legitimate sons."

In February 1793 Hickey was made a commissioner of a lottery which was being drawn in Calcutta (p. 82). Richardson who was one of his colleagues was persuaded, along with Hickey, to take certain surplus tickets: and as none of these drew a number, each commissioner lost sicca Rs. 2,000 in consequence.

Never in my life did I part with money so ungraciously or with so much reluctance. Poor Sir John in his broad Scotch dialect exclaimed. "The de'il damn all your cursed Looteries. I had

put aside twa thousand rupees to purchase mysel 'a buggy and horse, but now I munna think of any such matter and must still submit to gang about upon my ain feet, for which the gude God confound the damned commessioners.

Of Robert Morris who attempted unsuccessfully to obtain admission as an advocate in December 1791, Hickey supplies some additional details (pp. 59-65). Morris had made himself particularly conspicuous in England as "a violent patriot" in the days of Wilkies' popularity: and upon the establishment about the year 1768 of "the society formed to relieve and uphold their idol, calling themselves the 'Bill of Rights'" he acted for some time as secretary. He next distinguished himself by eloping with Miss Harford, an heiress, but was compelled by the Lord Chancellor, who pronounced the marriage null and void, to surrender the lady and restore her fortune. After leading a disreputable life for some years in London, he came out to Calcutta. Unfortunately, Sir William Dunkin had detected him in London in the act of cheating at cards: and resolutely opposed his admission as an advocate. He then found his way up-country and "made it a practice to visit the gaols of every town he stopped at, enquiring into the particulars of each prisoner's case and then assuring them that nine out every ten were illegally confined and would be justified in using forcible means to obtain their liberty."

Hickey (p. 65) gives the following example of his methods:—

In a letter from Patna to an acquaintance at Calcutta, Morris wrote that in the prison there he had found a native nearly related to one of the oldest and best families of Hindostan who many years before had murdered and, as was supposed, robbed an English gentleman who was travelling with considerable property in money and jewels about him. There being great reason to suspect the above person, who had the title of Rajah, was a party concerned, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, of which, however, he got notice and absconded. After living in secret for some time, he went to Lucknow where the Governor-General (Mr. Hastings) then happened to be, to whom he got introduced, and though the medium of the vizier, procured the said Governor-General's free pardon for the above-mentioned murder and robbery, but for which pardon he paid a large sum of money (as Morris plainly insinuated) to Mr. Hastings. Morris further stated that such pardon was written in the Persian language and had Mr. Hasting's seal affixed to it, and that there could not be the least doubt of its authenticity: that the Rajah had shown him this pardon, but would not suffer it to be taken out of his sight, though he made no scruple of letting him (Morris) make a copy thereof, and he actually had taken a true and faithful transcript. He adds: "What a precious *morceau* this pardon would be for the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to produce to the House." Happily for society, this dangerous and troublesome man was carried off by an attack of liver about eight months after he left Calcutta.

The tomb in the South Park Street cemetery which bears the inscription " Thomas Scott, born 1775, died 1821 " is not that of the advocate of the same name (October 23, 1792) who was Master of the Supreme Court and keeper of the Records, and who wrote the inscription on the tomb of Mr. Justice Hyde. Hickey tells us (p. 260) that he resigned the office of Master in 1802, " having realized as much wealth as contented him ", and returned to Europe, whereupon Edward Lloyd, Sir Henry Russell's clerk, was appointed Master and Hickey (who had previously been clerk to Sir William Dunkin from 1791 to 1798) succeeded to the office of clerk. " An Armenian whom I engaged for the purpose, did the whole duty and took special care never to omit entering in his daily book any business done before the Judge upon which I, as clerk, was entitled to a fee."

Hickey mentions incidentally that Edward Benjamin Lewin (November 17, 1792) to whom he acted as under-sheriff in 1803, died at Kew in January, 1830.

Among William Hickey's fellow-attorneys, we find mention of William Johnson who came out in the same ship with the Judges in 1774 and became clerk of the Crown. He was a son of Elizabeth Reynolds the sister of Sir Joshua; and his uncle, we read (p. 75) left him at his death his watch, chain, and seals, " a legacy many of the first characters in the kingdom would be proud of." Johnson however chose to consider himself ill-treated by having so paltry a memento left to him, and vented his anger by advertising for sale by public auction every picture his uncle had sent to him, including a very fine portrait of Sir Joshua himself. Happily, " before the day fixed for the sale arrived, Mr. Johnson so far came to his recollection as to feel the folly and indelicacy of his conduct and he countermanded his order: the auction was stopped, but the consequent stigma very deservedly remained." Johnson married the widow of Colonel Tolly of Tolly's Nullah. The Johnson collection of oriental paintings which are now at the India Office, was made by his brother Richard who was in the Civil Service.

Another attorney, Stackhouse Tolfrey, who had been a clerk of Hickey's and " having acquired an independent fortune " sailed for England with his wife in December 1787, settled down at Exeter, as we learn from a letter written by him to Hickey on April 7, 1791 (pp. 34, 36). He confesses that he very frequently looked back to India with regret and wondered at his " former insensibility to its many superior advantages ". Hickey tells us that he did not long survive the writing of his letter and having spent the greater part of his fortune left his wife (the beautiful Gertrude Messinck) and his three children very slenderly provided for. " Like many other persons from India, he set out in a style far beyond his means, and had not fortitude enough to retrench in time." His widow " became so reduced as to be obliged to keep a school, and that in a neighbourhood where she had lived in the utmost splendour " (p. 37).

We learn from the same letter that upon the departure from India of George Wroughton, the Company's attorney who was nicknamed " Balance's footman ", because he lived in Hyde's house, Benjamin Turner joined Hickey as his partner. Tolfrey writes: " I please myself with the idea that all

Wroughton's rich clients would upon that occasion become yours". The partnership continued until 1805. Turner paid sicca Rs. 10,000 and assigned to Hickey bills of costs amounting to sicca Rs. 5,000 or 6,000, due from Robert Samuel Perreau and his partner John Palling. But, says Hickey (p. 324) "this Perreau turned out a much greater thief and scoundrel than either his father or his uncle, both of whom were hanged at Tyburn in the year 1776 for forgery, by cheating every person he knew in Calcutta and then absconding to Bencoolen where he died insolvent."

In the arbitration proceedings between Hickey and Turner which preceded the dissolution of partnership, the latter nominated "Mr. Smith the then Advocate-General" and Ralph Uvedale (June 23, 1782), the prothonotary of the Supreme Court, and Hickey appointed Edward Lloyd who had come out to Bengal with Sir Henry Russell as his clerk. The number of attorneys on the roll was limited to twelve: but an exception was made in the case of judges' clerks and Lloyd was accordingly admitted.

Hickey gives the following account (p. 275) of "Bobus" Smith's appointment as Advocate-General. It affords curious evidence of the antagonism between the directors and their Governor-General.

In June, 1803, Mr. Robert Percy Smith arrived from England, having been appointed the Company's Advocate-General; Mr. Smith had also a Patent of precedence giving him rank above all the Barristers practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature. This appointment of Mr. Smith did away with that of Mr. Edward Strettell, whom Lord Wellesley had put into the situation of Advocate-General upon Mr. Burroughs's resignation thereof [in 1801]. It likewise deprived Mr. Macnaghten of the office of Company's Standing Counsel, which was resumed by Mr. Strettell. As Mr. Macnaghten had entertained some thoughts of leaving India, this loss of his place determined him to do so by the first opportunity.

Macnaghten, who had married a daughter of Sir William Dunkin, left for Europe, as a matter of fact, on board the *Charlton* in December 1803. He hoped in 1806 to receive the puisne judgeship, which became vacant by the promotion of Sir Henry Russell to the office of Chief Justice: but was fore-stalled by Burroughs who, says Hickey (p. 325) had lost a large proportion of his fortune by gambling and was therefore anxious to return to Bengal. He endeavoured to obtain the succession to Sir John Anstruther as Chief Justice but was obliged to be content with a puisne judgeship. Macnaghten's judgeship came to him in 1809 when he went to Madras and remained there until 1815 when he followed Burroughs at Fort William.

Hickey's dislike of Sir William Burroughs was intense and he exhibits it repeatedly. In a passage of his diary, which is not reprinted but of which we catch a glimpse in the notes appended by the editor to the present volume, he gives particulars of an attempt made by Macnaghten to get Burroughs disbarred while he was Advocate-General; and in another passage, which is also withheld, he supplies particulars of the association of James Taylor, an attorney "with no nice scruples or conscientious qualms" with Burroughs and Sir John Anstruther, "birds of the same feather."

The appointment of Anstruther in 1798 as Chief Justice led to the retirement of Sir William Dunkin from the Bench. Anstruther prevailed upon the Government to reduce the puisne judgeships from three to two, in order that the salary so saved might form a pension fund. The term of office was fixed at seven years, after which the Chief Justice was entitled to retire on a pension of £1,500 a year, and a puisne judge on a pension of £1,300. Advantage was taken of this new arrangement to make a clean sweep of the Bench at Calcutta. Anstruther became Chief Justice in the room of Sir Robert Chambers, and Sir John Royds and Sir Henry Russell were appointed to the puisne judgeships in the order named. Sir William Dunkin who was already in possession of a judgeship, was informed that permission was given to him to remain "as long as he thought proper", but a broad hint was conveyed to him at the same time that he was expected to vacate his seat at the end of one year. He embarked for Europe in January 1799. It was he who wrote the epitaph on the tomb of his colleague Sir William Jones in South Park Street Cemetery. His house in Calcutta was "in the rear of the theatre," which was then in Lyon's Range, "in an open airy situation" (p. 38).

Anstruther, says Hickey (p. 196) owed his appointment as Chief Justice to his parliamentary influence, "backed by a strong Scottish junto." The selection did not appeal to Erskine who "violently exclaimed", when he heard of the arrangement: "what the devil is all this? Russell going out under Anstruther! Why, Anstruther is not fit to carry Russell's bag!" Upon arrival the new Chief Justice had the misfortune to offend Hickey, who thus relates the episode (p. 197):

In August [1798] Sir John Anstruther arrived, having been detained for several weeks at the Cape of Good Hope by a severe attack of gout... I visited Sir John and his Lady at Messieurs Cockerell and Trail's, where they had taken up their abode until a suitable mansion could be got. This visit of mine Sir John returned three days afterwards when, happening to be at home at the time he called. I shewed him over my whole house, with every part of which he seemed greatly pleased, admiring equally its interior conveniences and the beauty of the view from it in every direction, specially towards the river. The day after this visit either he or his Lady had the modesty to send a gentleman to me to say what difficulty they experienced in finding a house fit for their family, and how greatly they would feel obliged if I would give up mine to them, it being exactly what they wanted. Without the least scruple or hesitation I returned a positive refusal, truly stating that I had expended too much money upon it and felt the convenience of its contiguity to the court too forcibly voluntarily to relinquish the possession, adding that I had taken the precaution to get from Sir Robert Chambers a written agreement that when the lease I held should expire, a new one should be granted for any term I required at the same rent, and that neither he nor his heirs or representatives should ever attempt to oust me.

Hickey does not tell us where the Chief Justice obtained ultimate accommodation: but he mentions that Sir Henry Russell, who had arrived in May, purchased towards the end of the year (1806) from Nemychurn Mullick "the very capital mansion which had for a few days only been the property of Sir James Watson, who absurdly fell a sacrifice to the folly of supposing the influence of a Bengal sun would not effect him more than its rays would in England. This house which stood on the site now covered by 12 and 13 Russell Street, is described as "being most desirably situated in Chowringhee, and having a very extensive piece of ground around it."

Watson, who was a serjeant-at-law, was appointed to succeed Sir William Jones and arrived in Calcutta in March 1796, during the last stages of the illness of Hyde, who died in July. The manner of Watson's death, which took place on May 2, is thus related by Hickey (p. 134). He purchased the house in Chowringhee to which allusion has been made and "being an opinionated new comer" exposed himself to the sun for several hours superintending the loading of the hackerys that were transporting his furniture.

The consequence of this was that on the second day he had done so, at the time of dinner when his family were just sitting down, he said he felt rather uncomfortable, with a great degree of giddiness; instead, therefore, of taking his seat at table, he lay down upon a sofa in the same room, and before sufficient time elapsed to summon medical assistance breathed his last. The next afternoon every person belonging to the Supreme Court as well as many of the principal gentlemen of the settlement, followed his corpse to the grave. Thus did he sacrifice his life to a ridiculous piece of obstinacy.

Hickey's house must have been on the Strand Road. In March 1794 he closed, he says (p. 117) with Sir Robert Chambers for his elegant mansion built by Mr. Thomas Lyon (the name-father of Lyon's Range) out of the very best materials. It had "the great advantage of being situated immediately behind the Court House with which it had a door of communication." This "capital house which was certainly one of the best in Calcutta", he took upon lease for five years at a monthly rent of four hundred and fifty sicca rupees: and not only furnished it in a splendid manner but erected a pillared verandah with a south aspect. Sketches by Hickey of the house before and after the addition of the verandah are given (p. 117).

Sir Henry Russell lived, if we are to credit Hickey, upon terms of the closest intimacy with him. He not only appointed him to be (as already stated) his clerk, and reappointed him upon his promotion in 1806 to the office of Chief Justice, but nominated him as deputy sheriff for the ensuing year. This latter post was a very profitable one. Hickey tells us (and the records show) that he held it seven times between the year 1784 and 1807. The deputy shared the emoluments equally with the sheriff: and the largest sum received by Hickey for any one year was twenty-five thousand sicca rupees, "equal to three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling."

A portrait of Sir John Anstruther hangs in the Chief Justice's Court. No painter's name is to be found on the canvas, and the suggestion was hazarded in the previous article that the picture might be the work of George Chinnery who is certainly the painter of the portrait of Sir Henry Russell which is to be seen on the wall of the Sessions Court. Hickey (p. 391) gives a diverting account of the manner in which Sir John Anstruther's portrait came to be painted, and makes it clear that the artist was Robert Home. The Chief Justice frequently hinted to his "hangers—on and immediate dependants" that it would be most gratifying to him, previous to his departure from India, to receive an address or a demand for his portrait. Three or four of his "sycophantic admirers" proceeded to sound the dispositions of the settlement upon the subject, but met with so cold a reception, "especially from the natives of rank and opulence," that they desisted from their efforts. At the sessions of December, 1806, however, Sir John Anstruther who was on the point of leaving for Europe, persuaded Sir John Royds, whose turn it was to charge the Grand Jury, to allow him to take his place.

This desire being conceded to him, he made one of the most disgustingly fulsome speeches that ever was uttered in which, contrary to his usual insolence and contemptuous way of treating the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, he bespattered them with the most high-flown compliments... During his harangue he carried the burlesque so far as to affect twice or thrice to be unable to proceed, overcome as it were by the excess of his sensibility and acute feelings. This mummary produced the desired effect. The Grand Jury having retired to their room, the foreman, William Fairlie, Esquire, proposed an address expressive of their gratitude for the steady interest Sir John Anstruther had shown in the success and welfare of the settlement, and so forth. This proposition was violently opposed by several of the gentlemen present. After a debate of some hours' continuation, the question for the address was carried, there being seventeen in favour of it, and seven against it. Mr. Fairlie then proposed that the Chief Justice should be requested to sit for his picture. For this nine only gave any vote, and three of those nine declared that they would not subscribe a single rupee towards defraying the expence of it, so that the whole expence fell upon six gentlemen... Thus ended the ridiculous and disgusting farce. A sign-post whole-length likeness of the Chief Justice, executed by Mr. Home, was five weeks afterwards hung up in the court-room. Oh, what a wretched daub did it appear when a few months later Chinnery's picture of Sir Henry Russell was placed by its side!

Hickey appears to have allowed his personal dislike for Anstruther to prejudice his opinion of the artistic ability of Robert Home. For on an earlier page (p. 305) he tells us that he went with a friend to Home's house and inspected the "excellent portraits" which were hanging there. He

mentioned his satisfaction with the collection to Sir Henry Russell who informed him that he had commissioned Home to paint his portrait as a gift to his clerk. "On the 1st of January 1805, this portrait was fixed up in my breakfast room, and undoubtedly was a striking likeness, notwithstanding it did not appear so in my eyes, because several persons who did not know I had such a picture in my house until they saw it in its place, exclaimed 'what an admirable likeness that is of Sir Henry Russell!'" Hickey took the picture home with him and placed it in his dining-room at Beaconsfield. As a return gift, he presented the Chief Justice in 1808 (the year of his departure from India) with his own portrait by Chinnery, which he pronounced to be "a very capital likeness" and which "now occupies a corner in Sir Henry Russell's dining-room in the Court House of Calcutta" (p. 386). Chinnery came to Calcutta from Madras, Hickey tells us (p. 384) "upon special summons" to paint the portrait of Russell "which several of the principal natives of the settlement had by an elegant address in the Persian language entreated him to sit for, that it might be exhibited in the Town Hall, a splendid building then in a considerable degree of forwardness". This is the picture which is now in the High Court. Russell retired in 1813: but did not take his portrait of Hickey Home with him. Its present whereabouts are unknown. But it would seem that a mezzotint engraving of it was sold at Christies in 1852 out of the collection of Thomas Haviland Burke, who was a friend of the family and executor of the will of Ann Hickey, sister of William.

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The date of the death of Hickey has not been accurately ascertained: but Mr. Alfred Spencer, the editor of the *Memoirs*, has come to the conclusion that he can be identified with the William Hickey of Little King Street, whose death on May 31, 1830, at the age of seventy, is recorded in the St. Pancras Church Register of Burials. Nothing is known of the *Memoirs* (observes the editor) until they fell into the hands of the late Colonel Horace Montagu of the 8th Hussars. They came to him "many years before 1880" among effects belonging to his uncle, Captain Montagu R. N. who died on July 31, 1863, at the age of seventy-six. On the death of Colonel Montagu on October 14, 1910, the manuscript was given by his executors as a memento to a close friend of his, Major Robert Poore. Major Poore who died on January 22, 1918, showed the manuscript to a friend who brought it to the notice of Mr. Spencer and thereby prepared the way for its publication.

EVAN COTTON.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Relaxation.

(A sheaf gleaned in the field of the Imperial Records.)

WARRIORS and conquerors, however hard-hearted men of the world they might be, are not always impervious to the feminine charm.

Introduction.

The biographies of several eminent heroes, both ancient and modern, beginning from Antonio down to Napoleon Bonaparte, testify to this fact. And the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with all his brilliant abilities and martial qualities, was no exception to this rule. It is, therefore, the intention of this paper to leave aside for a while the sickening details of his homicidal exploits which elevated him to the Lahore throne and to contemplate his occasional recreations and amusements in the company of fair sex for diverting his mind from the crushing political cares and troubles incidental to a ruler of a great kingdom.

2. Before dealing with the Maharaja's social amenities, we must not

The Maharaja
amidst pleasures.

lose sight of the fact that even during the height of his amusements, he did not entirely forget himself. In a

gala party got up by him in May 1831, where Sir David Ochterlony and other English notabilities were present, while the merriments were at their height, the Maharaja seriously discussed with Sir David about some grave political problems of that period and "detailed on the satisfaction which he had derived from his alliance with the Company" by virtue of the Amritsar Treaty of 1809. We further find from the records, that he also on that occasion talked with Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, about Sir Charles Metcalfe's embassy to his Court sent by Lord Minto, Lieut. Burnes' journey, the navigation of the Indus, the state of his political relations with Sind and the *Amirs* of that place, how he was attacked by certain tribes inhabiting on the banks of the Indus while he was taking a journey to Hyderabad by water, how he saved himself from their attack, etc. We further find on the strength of Capt. Wade's statement that the Maharaja's pleasure-seat at Adinanagar was a veritable place of serious business and talks in the *morning*, when no kind of light or frivolous things were allowed. The following extract from the Captain's statement will speak for itself:—"About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 24th May, 1831, His Highness sent Raja Dhiyan Singh to bring me to his presence. He was seated on the top of the gateway leading to the garden in which he has his residence and was commencing to take a muster of the troops commanded by *Jemadar* Kushal Singh, Raja Suchait Singh and the Corps of *Ghorcherras* (the name of one of the Maharaja's Corps) forming his personal guard. Carpets were spread at the foot of the gateway and in passing by each man deposited a *nazar* of a rupee. There were upwards of Rs. 5000 collected in *nazars* from which I infer that more than that number of persons must have passed in review". Capt. Wade

also informs us of the serious nature of conversations which the Maharaja had with him on that morning:—"The Maharaja talked of the distant predatory expeditions which the Sikhs were formerly in the habit of making, their mode of warfare, their impatience of discipline when he began to organize them, their endurance of privations, Shah Zeman's last invasion of the Punjab in 1799, the military character of the Goorkhas, the defeat which the Sikhs gave them at Kangra, whether the corporal punishments were discontinued in the British Service and myriads of questions of like nature". From the above it is clearly evident that the Maharaja's pleasure garden at Adinanagar was not only a mere scene of his relaxations and amusements but also a place of serious business.

3. Many over-Puritanic moralists have found faults with the social relaxations of the Maharaja. But Sir Lepel Griffin has taken a very sensible view of them. He says:—"It would be trivial to judge them (Maharaja's social amusements) without full consideration of the manners of the society in which he lived. Every age and people have their own standard of virtue; and what is to-day held to be atrocious or disreputable may, one hundred years hence, be the fashion. In the days of the Georges, our ancestors drank as heavily and ostentatiously as any of the Sirdars of the Lahore Court. 'Drunk as a Lord' was a popular saying which very fairly expressed the habits of aristocracy in England in the 18th century. To-day the fashion has changed and men drink less or more secretly. If we accept contemporary literature as sufficient evidence, the society of Paris to-day is fully as corrupt as that of the Junjab in 1830."

4. From the papers of the Imperial Record Dept. we find that Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, came into frequent intimate contact with the Maharaja's Court on official business. In the year 1831 he visited the Maharaja while he was staying at his summer-seat at Adinanagar. From that place he wrote a letter to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government (Simla), on the 25th May 1831, giving a very interesting account of the life of ease and gaiety which the Maharaja was then leading there, away from the worries and turmoils of Lahore. The following extract from his letter will be read with interest:—"On the evening of the 22nd instant agreeably to invitation I went accompanied by Jemadar Kushal Singh to the Maharaja and found him seated in a shady spot by the canal attended by a few *Sirdars* and a set of about thirty dancing girls, richly dressed in yellow silk garments and armed with bows and arrows in man's attire. Some fountains were playing by his side which diffused a cool and refreshing air and he appeared in an easy and affable mood".

5. "After some conversation he gave the *Sirdars*, with the exception of two, their leave and called to the dancing girls, who were aside, to come forward. Shortly after which, *wine was introduced and drinking some him-

* This wine, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, "was a fierce compound distilled from corn-brandy, mixed with the juice of meat, opium, musk and various herbs. Of this the Maharaja drank large quantities in the evening and at night". But Capt. W. G. Osborne who himself saw

self, he asked me and Doctor Murray to follow his example, which we did. He repeated his libations every quarter of an hour measuring the quantity which he took in a small cup containing about a liquid ounce. Sir David Ochterlony had, the Maharaja said, attended similar orgies in his visit to his Court, observing that he could take more wine then than he could now".

6. "Trays of Confectionary dressed in different ways to give relish to the wine were brought, of which we partook and after a sitting of more than three hours he desired Raja Suchait Singh to see us to a boat which was in attendance to convey us home. I was particularly struck with the combination of ease and propriety which he exhibited during the novel scene to which we have been invited."

7. Capt. W. G. Osborne, the nephew as well as the Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India, who as one of the members of the mission deputed from Simla to the Court of the Maharaja in May 1838 to place the British alliance with the Punjab chief on a more secure and decided footing, saw the Maharaja at his Adinanagar Summer retreat. The following extracts quoted from the *Journal* which he regularly wrote during his present visit to the Maharaja give some very rare and interesting descriptions of his dancing girls. The extracts run thus:—"On the 29th May 1838 in the course of the afternoon, the Maharaja's headman came by his master's orders to know if I should like to see his dancing girls, adding, that four of them who had lately arrived from Cashmere were very handsome. Accordingly, after dinner, I repaired to to a terrace on the banks of the canal, where we found eight young girls assembled and a display of fire-works prepared for my amusement on the opposite bank."

"The four Cashmerian girls were very pretty; one of them, Sabhoo by name, would have been thought beautiful any where. They were richly and gracefully dressed in scarlet and gold embroidered shawl dresses, with large and enormously loose petticoats of handsomely worked silk. Their head ornaments were singular and very becoming; their glossy black hair hanging down the back in a number of long plaits with gold chains and small bunches of pearls suspended to the ends, enormous strings of pearls for earrings, and large gold rings with several pearls and emeralds attached to them, passed through their noses. They are very fair, with expressive countenances and large and lovely eyes; but their beauty is much disfigured by the custom which prevails amongst all the Mughal women, of covering the lower eyelid with gold leaf, which gives them a ghastly appearance."

the wine of the Maharaja at his Court of Lahore in the year 1838, describes it thus:—"His wine is extracted from raisins with a quantity of pearls ground to powder and mixed with it for no other reason than to add to the expense of it. It is made for himself alone, and though he sometimes gives a few bottles to some of his favourite Chiefs, it is very difficult to be procured, even at the enormous price of one gold mohur for a small bottle. It is as strong as *aqua fortis*." Osborne further says that "during the Maharaja's drinking bouts the only food allowed are fat quails stuffed with all sorts of spices and the only thing to allay the thirst consequent upon eating such heating food is this 'abominable liquid fire'".

Capt. Osborne's description of the Maharaja's dancing girls.

8. It is interesting to note that the Maharaja formed a small army out of his dancing-girls called "the corps of Amazons".
 Ranjit Singh's corps of Amazons. Capt. Osborne thus writes of this 'corps':—"The establishment of this female corps was one of the Maharaja's capricious whims, and the result of one of those drinking bouts which it was his delight, so frequently to indulge in. There were originally about 150 of these fair warriors, who were selected from the prettiest girls from Cashmere, Persia and the Punjab. They were magnificently dressed, armed with bows and arrows and used frequently to appear on horseback, mounted *en cavalier*, for the amusement of the Maharaja." One of these fair warriors, named Lotus, told the Captain that she was the owner of seven good villages received at different times from the Maharaja as marks of his favour. Though Captain Osborne ascribed the formation of the 'corps of Amazons' by the Maharaja to his "capricious whims" and to the "result of his drinking bout", yet judging all facts, it appears, that this idea no doubt originated from his excessive love of everything, manly and military.

9. A brief history of the Maharaja's aforesaid favourite warrior-girl, Lotus, will perhaps not be out of place here. Captain History of 'Lotus'. Osborne who saw her personally thus speaks about Lotus:—"One of the warrior girls called 'Lotus' is rather a celebrated character at the Court of Lahore. Ranjit Singh received her with the tribute from Cashmere about 1836 when she was said to have been very beautiful. The Maharaja fell violently in love with her and fancied that his affection was as violently returned". But the Maharaja was wrong. It is strange that the Maharaja, with all his wide information of the world, forgot for the time being, that "fickle is the heart of a woman". The following interesting incident related by Captain Osborne will illustrate this point:—"One evening, in the course of conversation with Mons. Ventura, a French Military Officer in the Maharaja's Service, when the girl 'Lotus' was dancing before them, he made some remark upon her attachment to him, which he declared was purely disinterested and too strong to be shaken by any offers of advantage or affection she might receive from other quarters. Ventura was incredulous; and Ranjit Singh highly indignant at this doubt of his powers of attraction, defied him to seduce her and promised to put no obstacles in his way, further than stipulating that she should be placed in the customary seclusion of his zenana. After several polite speeches on the part of Ventura upon his impropriety of his attempting to rival his sovereign, the challenge was accepted, and the young 'Lotus' immediately transferred to the royal seraglio with every precaution to ensure her safety. But scarce had eight-and-forty hours elapsed ere the hoary old 'Lion of the Punjab' was aroused from his happy dreams of love by the intelligence that his guards were faithless, his harems violated, and himself deserted, and that the lovely 'Lotus' had been transplanted from her royal lover's garden to the Frenchman's".

"Ranjit Singh bore her desertion with great equanimity but in a short time she returned to her allegiance and was enrolled by the Maharaja in

his 'Corps of Amazons'." In this connection, it should be noted, that this 'Lotus' immolated herself as a *Sati* on the funeral pyre of the Maharaja in 1839.

10. Captain Osborne thus speaks of the dancing of the 'Corps of Amazons' which he saw on the evening of the 30th May, 1838 at Adinanagar:—"Some of the detachment who attended this evening, though not more than twelve years of age, were very handsome, and their dancing is the first I have seen in this country that has a shade of anything approaching graceful in it,—one dance by the young Cashmerian girls, with single-sticks in their hands, particularly so; the clatter of the sticks, as they met in the mimic combat, keeping time to a slow and graceful movement of their feet, had the effect of castanets, and was altogether both pretty and singular."

11. On the 8th June 1838, the Maharaja and Captain Osborne left Adinanagar for Lahore, where the latter stayed up to the 13th July. There he had an opportunity of being present at a Maharaja's drinking party. On the 2nd July while the Captain was returning from Shadera (a suburb of Lahore) after visiting the tomb of the Great Mughal, Jehangir, the Maharaja met him on the way and began talking with him on various subjects. After some lively conversations he said to the Captain, "you have never been at one of my drinking parties; it is bad work drinking now, the weather is so hot; but as soon as we have a good rainy day, we will have one". The Captain who was shortly invited to a Maharaja's drinking party describes it thus:—"The Maharaja generally on these occasions has two or three 'Hebes' in the shape of the prettiest of his Cashmerian girls to attend upon himself and guests. During these potions he generally orders the attendance of all his dancing-girls, whom he forces to drink his wine and when he thinks them sufficiently excited, uses all his power to set them by the ears, the result of which is a general action, in the course of which they tear one another almost to pieces. They pull one another's nose and ear-rings by main force and sometimes even more serious accidents occur; the Maharaja sitting by encouraging them with the greatest delight and exclaiming to his guests "*Burra tamasha, burra tamasha* (great fun, great fun)".

12. Such was the social amenities of the Maharaja during his spare hours. In spite of these, the Maharaja was really a serious man and his true character has thus been given by Captain Osborne:—"Ranjit Singh was one of that order of master-minds which seem destined by Nature to win their way to distinction and achieve greatness. His courage was of that cool and calculating sort which courted no unnecessary danger, and shunned none which his purposes made it expedient to encounter; and he always observed a just proportion between his efforts and his objects. Gifted with an intuitive perception of character and a comprehensive knowledge of human nature it was by the over-ruling influence of a superior mind, that he contrived gradually and with little resistance, not only to reduce the proud and high-spirited chiefs of his nation to the condition of subjects, but to render them the devoted adherents

Osborne's description of the dancing of the 'Amazons'.

Maharaja's drinking party at Lahore.

Conclusion.

of his person, and the firm supporters of his throne ". Capt. Wade in endorsing the above views has also admitted:—" Few Chiefs exercised a more rigid controul (sic) over the conduct of his troops than he did ".

BASANTA KUMAR BASU.

Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.



THE NAWAB NAJM-UD-DAULA.

The Mother of the Company

(Compiled from Original Papers.)

THE history of Munni Begam, the wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, is as full of romance as that of her contemporary Begam Samru—the celebrated Princess of Sardhana. Born and bred in poverty, she rose to the exalted position of the Regent of Bengal and a trusted friend of the great Governor-General Warren Hastings.

Her birth was humble. She was the daughter of a poor widow of Balkunda, a village near Sikandra, who, being unable to bring up the child, sold her to Bisu, a slave-girl belonging to Sammen Ali Khan. Bisu lived for five years at Delhi where she taught Munni the art of dancing. Munni's fame soon spread far and near, and Nawab Shahamat Jang (Nawazish Muhammad Khan), at the marriage of his adopted son Ikram-ud-daula—the younger brother of Siraj-ud-daula (c. Aug. 1746) summoned to Murshidabad Bisu's troupe of dancing-girls, to which Munni belonged, for a fee of Rs. 10,000. After that event, they continued to practise their trade at Murshidabad, which was at that time "as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city." (1) Mir Jafar engaged the party on Rs. 500 a month. Munni Bibi's beauty and musical skill soon conquered his heart and he took her into his harem. Babbu, the daughter of Sammen Ali Khan, also found a place in his seraglio afterwards. (2)

Munni Begam's attainments, cleverness and sincere love for her master raised her to the position of the principal Begam of Mir Jafar's harem and threw into the shade even his legitimate wife, Shah Khanam. (3) This enabled her in later life to gain possession of all the wealth that Mir Jafar had carried away from the Hira Jhil Palace of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula. She had two sons by him, Najm-ud-daula and Saif-ud-daula, while Babbu Begam had one son, Mubarak-ud-daula.

(1) Evidence of Lord Clive before the Committee of the House of Commons, 1772.

(2) Letter, recd. 5 June 1775, from Nanda Rai (the treasurer of Munni Begam) to Genl. Clavering and other Gentlemen of the Council.—*Secret Consultation*, 24 July 1775, No. 13A.

(3) Shah Khanam, step-sister of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, had a son named Mir Md. Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran) and a daughter who was married to Mir Md. Qasim Khan. Sadiq Ali Khan left two sons, Mir Saidu (Murtaza Kh.) and Mir Supan, and two daughters who were married to Sultan Mirza Daud.—Nanda Rai to Genl. Clavering. *Secret Con.* 24-7-1775, No. 13A; *Calendar of Pers. Correspondence*, iv, No. 1829.

Shah Khanam died—presumably early in 1766—during the Nizamat of Nawab Najm-ud-daula. *Pers. Corr.*, ii, No. 788.

Mir Jafar passed away at Murshidabad on 5th February 1765. (4) According to Caraccioli, Munni Begam heavily bribed the chiefs of the English Company; in order to secure the succession for her son. The Council at Calcutta disallowed the claim of the minor son of Mir Jafar's only legitimate offspring Miran, and raised Munni Begam's son, Najm-ud-daula, a boy of 15, to the throne. It was during the reign of Najm-ud-daula that the legacy of five lakhs of Rupees, left by Mir Jafar to Clive, was handed over to his Lordship by Munni Begam. She gave the following certificate, dated 12 Jany. 1767, to Clive:

"His Excellency the deceased Nawab when he was alive, of sound mind, and in the full enjoyment of all his mortal faculties gave me repeated orders to the following purport 'Out of the whole money and effects which I have in my possession I have bequeathed the sum of three lakhs fifty thousand Rupees in money, fifty thousand Rupees in jewels, and one lakh in gold mohurs, in all five lakhs of Rupees in money and effects, to the Light of my Eyes the Nawab firm in War, Lord Clive the Hero. The remainder after your marriage settlement is paid, you will distribute agreeable to the several proportions I have allotted.' In witness therefore to the truth of this promise of the late Nawab, I have given these few lines as a certificate." (*Public Procdgs.* 20-1-1767, p. 44).

As is well known, Clive formed this amount into a trust fund for the relief and maintenance of invalids in the Company's service and the widows of the soldiers (6 April 1770).

Najm-ud-daula died of fever on 8th May 1766, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who also died a premature death (March 1770). Mubarak-ud-daula, son of Babbu Begam, a boy of 12, was then placed on the throne.

During the reigns of her own sons, Najm-ud-daula and Saif-ud-daula, Munni Begam naturally enjoyed pre-eminence and controlled their household, while Babbu Begam remained in the background. But with the accession of her stepson Mubarak-ud-daula, Munni Begam's authority came to an end. Her lofty spirit and extensive influence had given umbrage to a very powerful man, Muhammad Riza Khan, the Deputy Nawab, who now wanted to instal Babbu Begam in the place of Munni, and succeeded in creating such a tension between the two Begams that they avoided each other's sight (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 26). Babbu claimed the control of her son's household and reported to Cartier, the then Governor of Bengal, the straitened circumstances in which she was living.

Cartier was not aware of it, he having been under the impression that like Munni Begam she too was in the enjoyment of every comfort. (5) He

(4) "... It is with much concern I am now to inform you that Nawab Jafar Ali Khan departed life this day about noon."—Letter from Samuel Middleton, Resident at the Murshidabad Darbar, dated Muxadabad 5th Feby. 1765. *Secret Procdgs* 5th Feby. 1765, vol. 3, pp. 81-83.

(5) Governor of Bengal to Babbu Begam, dated 26 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii, Letter No. 231.

immediately wrote to the Naib Diwan at Murshidabad enquiring about the condition of the Begams. In reply Riza Khan suggested that while the place of honour rightfully belonged to Babbu Begam, it would be better if the two Begams were given equal rank and authority. (6)

This suggestion, however, did not appeal to the Governor. Such an arrangement, he thought, instead of ending the dispute existing between the two ladies would perpetuate it, and he decided that the real authority should be vested in Babbu Begam, the mother of the Nazim but that, as a matter of form and etiquette, she should treat Munni Begam as her superior. (7) He wrote accordingly (7 June 1770) to Munni Begam to the effect that, now that Mubarak-ud-daula was occupying the masnad of the Nizamat, it would be better for her to leave the control of his household to his own mother. (8) Muhammad Riza Khan and Mr. Becher (the Resident at Murshidabad) visited Babbu Begam in the fort and, in pursuance of the Governor's orders, vested her with the supreme control of the Nawab's household (June 1770). (9)

Riza Khan thus succeeded in setting up Babbu Begam in authority, and Munni Begam—writes her contemporary Ghulam Husain—"whose extent of understanding nothing can be compared to, but the immense stock which she is known to be possessed of in jewels and money, thought proper to take no notice of such an alteration; and although deeply wounded by such underhand dealings, she thought it beneath her dignity to descend to an explanation; and she passed the whole over with a disdainful silence." (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 26-27). But Babbu Begam's authority was of very short duration.

Muhammad Riza Khan had been Governor of Dacca and a friend of Lord Clive. During the minority of Nawab Najm-ud-daula he was appointed Naib Nazim, or deputy ruler, with the title of *Muzaffar Jang*, and this office, combined with that of Naib Diwan, he continued to hold under Saif-ud-daula and Mubarak-ud-daula, being virtually the Governor of Bengal.

The administration of Riza Khan, however, was considered inefficient. The ryots groaned under extortion and oppression; cultivation fell away; Bengal suffered unheard of depopulation (the loss of one-third of its total population) from the famine and pestilence of 1769-70, unprecedented in our history in their intensity, and the unhappy country was ravaged by bands of lawless banditti known as the Sannyasis. This was the darkest period in Bengal's lot, when the Company's servants enjoyed power without responsibility, and the natives had no protection from any foreign oppressor. The Directors in England grew alarmed at the situation and appointed Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal to remedy the evil. He took charge of the government from Cartier in April 1772, when the times were out of joint. On his arrival in Calcutta he carried out the orders of the Home authorities by arresting Riza Khan on a charge of fraud and embezzlement and brought him down to Calcutta for trial.

(6) Md. Riza Khan to Governor, dated 22 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 224.

(7) Governor to Md. Riza Khan, dated 24 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 226.

(8) Governor to Munni Begam, dated 7 June 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 245.

(9) *Pers. Corr.*, iii, Letters Nos. 256, 264, 176-77.

Riza Khan having been removed from the post of the administrator of Bengal, the Company decided "to stand forth as Diwan, and, by the agency of their own servants, to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." To settle the land revenue of the various districts on the spot, a Committee of Circuit was formed with Hastings as President. During the stay of the Committee at Kasimbazar, Hastings paid visits to the Nawab's palace. Munni Begam, then aged about 50, was proposed for the superintendency of the Nawab's household, and the guardianship of his person on an annual allowance of Rs. 1,40,000, (10) assisted by Rajah Gurudas, the son of Nanda Kumar, in the capacity of her diwan. The Committee of Circuit justified the appointment of the Begam by the following piece of reasoning:—

"We know no person so fit for the trust of Guardian to the Nawab as the widow of the late Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, Munni Begam. Her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without hazard to our own policy, nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of the country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nawab's palace and the Diwan will act of course in all cases in which she cannot personally appear. Great abilities are not to be expected in a zenana, but in these she is very far from being deficient, nor is any extraordinary reach of understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the Nawab being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty in directing his education and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected. (11) (Minute, 11th July, 1772).

(10) Munni Begam was drawing a monthly allowance of Rs. 6,000, which had been settled upon her by Nawab Najm-ud-daula, but as it was considered inadequate for maintaining her new and exalted position, she petitioned Hastings in August 1772 for an increase. (*Procdgs. of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar & Kasimbazar*, pp. 210-11).

The Committee of Circuit decided the question of her allowance thus:—

"With respect to the allowance of the Begam and the diwan, we thought we could not be guided by a better rule than that which our Honourable Masters have been pleased to prescribe on the subject of the ostensible minister which they mention, for the Nawab's affairs. As in fact the Begam, the diwan and the Rai-ryan of the Khalsa stand in the room of this minister, we thought the sum of three lakhs allowed for him, would be properly divided among the three, and we have settled it in the following proportions—

	Rs.
To Munni Begam 	1,40,000
To Rajah Gurudas diwan, for himself and officers 	1,00,000
To Rajah Rajballabh, Rai-ryan of the Khalsa 	60,000
	<hr/> 3,00,000

— Letter of Committee of Circuit, dated Kasimbazar 14 September 1772. *Secret Procdgs.* 21 September 1772, No 3.

(11) *Secret Procdgs.* 6 August 1772, vol. 22, p. 69.

But the supersession of the Nawab's own mother by Munni Begam was an unnatural arrangement and Hastings had to take pains to justify the step. He wrote to the Hon'ble Josias Dupre on 8th October, 1772:

"The execution of these measures was a matter of much delicacy, because the Nawab's servants were in possession, and his mother was considered as the head of the family. However, by avoiding every appearance of violence, and by a proper address to the Nawab's counsellors, he was easily induced, with a very good grace, and without opposition, to give his assent to the appointments, which were conferred in form in the presence of the Committee. (12) I should have mentioned that it had been previously resolved in the Nawab's council, that he should solemnly protest against them, claim the administration of his own affairs, or declare his resolution to abdicate the government and retire to Calcutta; he did neither. I had the honour some time afterwards to reconcile the two ladies, and to bring about a meeting between them; an event from which I claim some merit, although I do not imagine there is a grain of affection subsisting between them." (Gleig, i. 261-2).

Scandalous tongues suggested that Munni Begam's money had converted Hastings into her supporter. But, in truth, he was actuated by a deeper motive, as his letters show. (13) For seven years Riza Khan had had the absolute command of every branch of the Nizamat and been, in all but the name, the Nazim of the province; his influence in the Nawab's household and at the capital was scarcely affected by his present disgrace, and it is chiefly with the object of "eradicating his influence" that the choice fell on Munni Begam and Raja Gurudas—both of them declared enemies of Riza Khan. This also was the reason why Babbu Begam, the Nawab's own mother, was set aside; she was at heart a partizan of Riza Khan.

To explain the grounds which had prompted him to offer the guardianship of the Nawab to Munni Begam, Hastings wrote to the Home authorities (on 1st September 1772):

"The appointment of Munni Begam, I believe, will require no apology. It was unanimously approved, and if I can be a judge of the public opinion, it is a measure of general satisfaction.

The only man who could pretend to such a trust was the Nawab Ihtisam-ud-daula, the brother of Mir Jafar, a man, indeed, of no dangerous abilities, nor apparent ambition, but the father of a numerous family, who by his being brought so nigh to the masnad would have acquired a right of inheritance to the subahship; and if only one of his sons, who are all in the prime of life, should have raised his hopes to the succession, it would have been

(12) See *Secret Procdgs.* 29th August, 1772, No. 1.

(13) Hastings to the Hon'ble Josias Dupre, 8 October 1772; Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble Court of Directors dated 1st September 1772.—See Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, i. 250, 261-2.

in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the Nawab's life opposed to the advancement of his family. The guardian at least would have been the Nazim while the minority lasted, and all the advantages which the Company may hope to derive from it in the confirmation of their power would have been lost, or could only have been maintained by a contention hurtful to their rights, or by a violence yet more exceptionable. The case would be much the same were any other man placed in that station.....

The Begam, as a woman, is incapable of passing the bounds assigned her; her ambition cannot aspire to higher dignity. She has no children to provide for, or mislead her fidelity; her actual authority rests on the Nawab's life, and therefore cannot endanger it. It must cease with his minority, when she must depend absolutely on the Company for support against her ward and pupil, who will then become her master. Of course her interest must lead her to concur with all the designs of the Company, and to solicit their patronage. I have the pleasure to add that, in the exercise of her office, she has already shown herself amply qualified for it, by her discernment, economy, and a patient attention to affairs." (14)

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General on 20th October 1774, and a new council was appointed consisting of four councillors, three of whom—*viz.*, Mr. Francis, Genl. Clavering and Col. Monson—arrived from England in the same month. On their arrival, strong dissensions broke out in the council, and the disagreement between the triumvirate and Hastings's party, consisting of himself and Richard Barwell, soon reached such a pitch as to become a public scandal. This gave the enemies of the Governor-General a splendid opportunity to satisfy the ancient grudge they bore towards him. Maharajah Nanda Kumar addressed the Supreme Council quoting instances of infamous action and corruption on the part of Hastings. One of the charges trumped up against the Governor-General was his acceptance of a bribe of a lakh and a half from Munni Begam at the time of her appointment as Guardian to the Nawab. But the Begam maintained that the amount in question "was sent on account of entertainment. The custom of entertainment was of long standing, and that every Governor, who had visited Murshidabad before, received a daily sum of Rs. 2,000 as such, which was in fact [given] instead of provisions." (15)

But the trio, who formed the majority, were not satisfied with the management of Munni Begam, and in May 1775 they removed her from her office. Rajah Gurudas was invested with authority to deal with all affairs of the Nizamat. (16) In justification of her dismissal, the three

(14) Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Kasimbazar, 1st September, 1772.—Gleig, i. 253-54.

(15) Letter, recd. 15 June 1775, from Munni Begam to the Governor-General. *Secret Proēds.* 24-7-1775, vol. 14, pp. 563-66.

(16) *Pers. Correspondence*, iv. Letters Nos. 1752, 1780, 1802, 1806.

councillors in their minutes to the Court of Directors, dated 15th September 1775, remarked:

"...She is not the Nawab's mother. She is not by birth a woman of any rank, but originally as we are informed, a slave and a dancing girl. We consider her merely as an instrument in the Governor's hand to dispose of the Nawab's revenue as he might think proper. His committing the guardianship of the Nawab to a weak woman, as he [Hastings] calls her in another place, is not to be accounted for on any other principle...

The present distresses of the Nawab and his family, the clamours of his creditors, and the mean and dishonourable state in which he was kept, sufficiently show what care she took of his revenues, and in what manner they were disposed of. Her care of his education stands much upon the same footing. While she was destroying his fortune, it is not likely that she should attend to the cultivation of his mind, nor do we conceive it possible she could be qualified for such a trust. The accounts brought down by Mr. James Grant are under examination. The over-payment of near fourteen lakhs on account of the Nawab's pension in the year 1772 is admitted by Mr. Hastings as a *material error*. The Nawab's present debts are *supposed* to amount to nine lakhs, contracted during the guardianship of the Begam." (17)

Great was the disappointment of Hastings at her dismissal. He wrote to Mr. Laurence Sullivan (afterwards Chairman of the E. I. Co.) on 21st March 1776:

"They have dismissed the Begam from her office which I had assigned her for the express and sole purpose of guarding the Company's authority against encroachment or competition."

Munni Begam continued throughout life a faithful friend of Hastings in all his troubles. Her sincere attachment to Mrs. Hastings is evident from the following letter which Hastings wrote to his wife on 28th February, 1784:

"I forgot to tell you that Munni Begam expressed her regret of your departure in terms which seemed too natural to have proceeded from mere civility, and I was pleased to hear her say that she grieved on my account as much as for her own loss in your departure and the necessity which occasioned it." (18)

Munni Begam had good reason to be grateful to Hastings. His care for her interests continued to the last; and on the eve of sailing away from India he wrote, on 3rd November 1783, a sentimental letter to the Court

(17) *Selections from State Papers preserved in the Foreign Dept.*, 1772-1785, ii. 478.

(18) *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.—S. C. Grier, p. 267.

In the Victoria Memorial Museum are exhibited "an ivory chair and a small table of the same material which formed part of a historic set of furniture. They were a present from Munni Begam to Mrs. Hastings, and for many years they were at Daylesford, the English home of Hastings." *Calcutta Old & New*.—H. E. A. Cotton, p. 825; Munni Begam's presents to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, Grier, pp. 244, 341, 365.

of Directors in her praise, desiring them to make a large allowance for her comfort in her old age. This letter, with an *arzi* from the Begam, was transmitted by Hastings to the Court without communicating it to the Council:

"She too became the victim of your policy, and of the resentments which succeeded. Something too she owed of the source of her misfortunes to the belief of the personal gratitude which she might entertain for the public attention which I had shown to her; yet exposed as she was to a treatment which a ruffian would have shuddered at committing, and which no recollection of past enmities shall compel me to believe, even for a moment, proceeded from any commission of authority, she still maintained the decorum of her character; nor even then, nor before, nor since that period, has the malice of calumny ever dared to breathe on her reputation.

Pardon, honourable sirs, this freedom of expostulation. I must in honest truth repeat, that your commands laid the first foundation of her misfortunes; to your equity she has now recourse through me for their alleviation, that she may pass the remainder of her life in a state which may at least efface the remembrance of the years of her affliction and to your humanity she and an unseen multitude of the most helpless of her sex cry for subsistence." (19)

The Court of Directors forwarded a copy of Hastings's letter and that of the enclosed *arzi* of the Begam, to the Governor-General and Council with the following instructions:—

"An application has been made to us by Mr. Hastings in behalf of Munni Begam, the widow of the late Mir Jafar, a copy of whose letters we likewise enclose. It is our wish to alleviate, as far as the circumstances of our affairs will permit us, the distress of all the relations of Mir Jafar, and enable the present Nawab and his family, under an economical system to be adjusted by you, to live comfortably and happy. But as the real situation of Munni Begam will of course be included in your enquiries, and in the report upon the general subject of the Nawab's family and expenses, we shall forbear for the present to make any further observations thereon than to direct that an independent stipend be allotted for her support, subject, as in the other case, to our future consideration and approval". (20)

(19) *Impeachment of Warren Hastings*—Edmund Burke, pp. 492-93.

Burke's comments on this letter are significant:—

"It appears upon your printed minutes, that this woman had a way of comforting herself... This lady was a smuggler, and had influence enough to avoid payment of the duty on spirits, in which article she was the largest dealer in the district; as indeed she was in almost every species of trade... She carried on, notwithstanding her dignity, a trade in spirits... But she appears not only to have been a dealer in it, but, through the influence which Mr. Hastings gave her, to have monopolized the trade in brandy, and to have evaded the duties..." (P. 494).

(20) *Public Letter from the Court of Directors* dated London 21st July, 1786, para. 25.

Mubarak-ud-daula nominally obtained his emancipation on the removal of Munni Begam from the regency. But she still contrived to maintain absolute control over the entire Nawab family, for she had vast wealth at her command, and was full of resources. As Mubarak-ud-daula cherished the hope of one day inheriting her hoard of jewels and cash, she could easily frighten him into compliance with her wishes by threatening to "squander her riches amongst the poor or to leave them to strangers and Frenghees (Europeans)." Indeed, she appears to have been feared, though not loved. She was allowed to retain the dignity of a Princess, being assigned a monthly allowance of Rs. 12,000, and continued to live at Murshidabad in splendour.

After the death of Mubarak-ud-daula, on 6th September 1793, his son Babar Ali Khan or Mubarak-ud-daula the Second succeeded him. During his Nizamat Lord Valentia visited Murshidabad (1804) and had an interview with both the Nawab and Munni Begam. The following account of the Begam from his pen is likely to be of interest to the reader:

"She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Mir Jafar's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence...Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous...(21) She has a good understanding, though her temper is exceedingly violent. There is no doubt of her being rich; but what will become of her property is uncertain. Nothing can induce her to make a will: the very mention of a thing that insinuates a supposition of its being possible she can die, throwing her into a violent passion...During the whole of our stay two *minahs* were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said, and praised their talents. Her hookah filled up the intervals." (*Voyages & Travels*, i. 184-85).

Babar Ali Khan died on 28th April 1810. His death was followed by a dispute over the succession. Munni Begam pressed the claim of Sayyid Abul Qasim (popularly called Mungli Sahib), the second son of Mubarak-ud-daula I. and brother of Babar Ali, and endeavoured to secure the *masnad* for him, (22) but the Governor-General, Lord Minto, favoured Ali Jah, the eldest son of Babar Ali, who was installed on 5th June, 1810.

Munni Begam was the first of the few ruling ladies—known as Gaddinashin Begams—to whom separate *deorhis* or allowances were assigned. Both she and Babbu Begam belonged to this class. (23)

(21) Lord Valentia was informed by Mrs. Pattle (wife of the Superintendent of Nizamat Affairs) who had seen the Begam in old age, that she was very short and fat, with vulgar, large, to the ravages of old age, harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. This was probably due 1810 (Receipt Vol.), No. 261.

(22) Letter, recd. 17 May 1810, from Munni Begam. *Political Correspondence of Lord Minto*,

(23) Babbu Begam's allowance was fixed at Rs. 8,000 per month. She died on 18th November 1809.

The beautiful Chowk Masjid, south-east of the Murshidabad Palace—the largest mosque in the city—stands as a monument to her fame. It was built by her in 1767 on the site of Nawab Shuja Khan's *Chehel Setun*, the forty-pillared audience hall.

She was styled 'the Mother of the Company'. When she was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow at the death of her husband, Lord Clive came to her and said,—“It is true I cannot restore the late Nawab to life; but I declare with the utmost sincerity of heart that I consider myself and all the English Gentlemen to be your Highness's children and that we regard you as our mother. We shall conform to your pleasure, and never act contrary to your will.” (24) She was indeed high in the favour of Clive and Hastings. It is said that her lavish presents gained for her the title of 'Mother-of-the Company'. “She in her turn received several, one of which was from Rani Bhawani, being a *palki* with 30 bearers gifted with service tenures, which they were to enjoy in lieu of wages. The lands so given are still in the possession of the Nizammat.” (*Masnud of Murshidabad*, p. 132).

Munni Begam was a benevolent lady. Once a maid-servant in her employ was in great distress, being unable to give her daughter in marriage for want of funds. On hearing of it, the Begam immediately sent her 70 or 80 gold mohurs and other necessary things. Nor was this the only instance of her generosity (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 147-48).

A woman of much sense and spirit, she was haughty and overbearing in character, but steadfast and faithful, never forsaking a friend or a dependent. Although not of a virtuous family, nor of noble birth, she was a woman of unusual capacity, and her good sense, as well as her steadiness of purpose, was never so remarkable, as when she had any scheme to carry into execution. For, whatever she once undertook, she never failed to perform, as she always found some expedient or other for attaining success. But she failed as a ruler. Had she brought herself to the practice of sitting behind a curtain and hearing complaints herself, instead of leaving all things entirely to her deputy Itbar Ali—a mean-minded, savage and imbecile fellow, who gave a good deal of trouble and uneasiness to many—the government of Murshidabad would never have been snatched out of her hands. (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 41-42, 147).

Munni Begam retained the full vigour of her intellect even in old age. After the death of her husband she had the management and control of the Nizammat and the settlement of all points connected with its administration, and thus exercised authority for about half a century. Her long life was full of vicissitudes. She had seen her husband raised to the *masnad* of Murshidabad by the British, deposed and raised again, and her royal son reduced to a pensioner. But the chequered career of the erstwhile dancing-girl of Sikandra at last drew to a close. She died on 10th January 1813, leaving personal property worth over 15 lakhs. Her mortal remains lie

(24) Letter recd. 37 May 1810, from Munni Begam.—*Pol. Corr. of Lord Minto*, 1810 (Receipt Vol.), No. 361.

buried within an enclosure of wavy walls at Jafaraganj, the family cemetery of Mir Jafar, about a mile and a half from the Palace. (25)

Her death and the proceedings that followed it are graphically described by Mr. T. Brooke, the Superintendent of Nizamat Affairs, in his letter to the Persian Secretary to Government:

"...From undoubted sources of information the death of Her Highness was sudden; she had sat up the preceding night in the performance of the celebration of the Muharram to a late hour; when she got up in the morning she did not complain of fatigue, had been giving her orders as usual, retired between ten and eleven for occasions, where she dropped down; is said to have called out for His Highness, but expired before he could reach her without uttering another word... Everybody seemed engaged in preparations for the interment of Her Highness which had been fixed for five in the evening, but the procession did not move from the Palace till the hour of six. The Nawab, in all his state followed the body, the Superintendent accompanied His Highness; first to the masjid, and afterwards to the family burying ground at Jafaraganj, where the remains of Her Highness were deposited at a little before 9 o'clock at night.

The age of Her Highness may be computed to have been ninety-seven from the information of persons in the family now living who in former times have frequently heard the Begam declare she was twenty-three years of age at the massacre of Delhi by Nadir Shah, which occurred in 1739.

It was my anxious desire that the funeral obsequies of this venerable lady should have been marked by every distinction which could demonstrate the respect of the British Government, but Her Highness's sudden demise precluded any preparatory steps to fulfil the orders of Government; and when it was proposed that the interment should be postponed until the Military Detachment could arrive from Berhampur and the Gentlemen of the station could be assembled at the Palace, it seemed to give so much dissatisfaction and was so warmly opposed that the suggestion was abandoned. But Her Highness's remains were carried to the grave with every mark of native pomp and splendour, the whole of His Highness's establishment attended, and the procession was accompanied by crowds of people..." (Dated 11th January, 1813). (26)

As a mark of respect to her memory, minute guns to the number of ninety, corresponding to the years of her life, were fired by order of the Governor-General, from the ramparts of Fort William on the evening of 14th January 1813, the flag being hoisted half mast. (27)

(25) Shortly after her death, a sum of Rs. 9,500, out of the private property left by her, was invested in Government Securities, as a fund to defray the expenses of an establishment at her tomb. See Reports on the Accounts of the Murshidabad Nizamat Stipend Fund, from 1816-17 to 1859, etc.

(26) *Secret Consultation*, 26 February, 1813, No. 18.

(27) *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, iv. 120-21.

APPENDIX

PERSONAL PROPERTY OF MUNNI BEGAM

Extract from a letter, dated Murshidabad 26 Dec. 1816, from J. Monckton to John Adam, Actg. Secretary to Government, Fort William.

3. Previously to the Nawab's indisposition, His Highness had attended with me almost daily for three weeks at the late Munni Begam's apartments, for the purpose of inspecting and examining Her late Highness's treasure and jewels, as also her other property, the extent and variety of which was very great.

4. The jewels may fairly be estimated at not less than six lakhs of Rupees, the gold and silver utensils amount in weight to Sicca Rupees one lakh, two thousand and fifteen, and the property in goods consisting of rich velvets, Benares, gold and silver stuffs, shawls, muslins, silks, beautifully embroidered purdahs, and a countless variety of other articles cannot be estimated at less than one lakh and a half of Rupees. The collection of articles of every description was prodigious, and I have great satisfaction in stating that the whole of the property was in the highest state of perfection.

5. The treasure in gold, silver, and copper coin amounted to 150,507-12 Rupees, but in taking an account of the money, a box containing 16,053 Rupees was pointed out to me as belonging to Zeb-un-nisa Begam, who is grand-daughter of His Highness Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan, and also to her brother.

15. The sum of 16,053 Rupees being deducted from the property found in the late Munni Begam's apartments, the treasure which actually belonged to Her Highness amounted to Rupees 14,85,454-12, out of which has been deducted Rupees 8,58,043-14-8, and a further sum of Rs. 44,650, reserved for the purpose of reducing jewels mortgaged on bond, to the amount of Rs. 50,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 5,82,760-13-4, which has been formerly made over to His Highness, together with the whole of the jewels, gold and silver utensils, and other property amounting collectively to about 8,50,000 Rupees. Thus, by the death of Her Highness the Munni Begam, the Nawab has acquired personal property to the extent of nearly fifteen lakhs of Rupees, besides the possession of lands and houses, and the Chowk adjoining the Palace, which alone yields a revenue of 12,000 Rupees per mensem. (28)

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

A God-daughter of Warren Hastings.

“**K**ISS my dear Betsy for me, and assure her of my tenderest affection. May the God of goodness bless you both...Remember me, and make my Betsy remember and love her godfather and her mother's sincere and faithful friend, Warren Hastings.”

The little girl thus tenderly mentioned was the daughter of Dr. Tysoe Saul Hancock (1), who married Philadelphia Austen, aunt of the famous Jane, at Cuddalore in 1753. Betsy was born in India, and in later days laughingly ascribed her “share of the wandering spirit our countrymen are in general possessed with,” to “being so early accustomed to a vagabond life.” She and her parents went home with Hastings in 1765, but when the two men returned to India four years later, Mrs. Hancock and her little girl remained in England. That they were not forgotten by the exiles is shown by Dr. Hancock's letter-book, preserved in the British Museum, which overflows with yearning affection for the wife and child he was never to see again, and bears frequent testimony to his friend's thoughtful generosity, while the letters of Hastings' sister, Mrs. Woodman, and her husband, contain constant mention of and messages from them.

Hancock appears to have been considerably older than his wife (he is alluded to as “the old gentleman” by his Calcutta contemporaries), and to have been broken in constitution and soured in temper by long years of toil in the tropics. As time goes on, a certain lack of sympathy, almost amounting to harshness, makes its appearance in the letters to his wife, but there is no failure of tenderness in those to Betsy, of whose childhood they give us vivid glimpses. She was evidently devoted to animals. In 1770 her father writes:—

“You forgot to tell me your Fox Dog's Name. I desire you will give him a good Piece of Beef or Mutton, whichever he likes best, and tell him I have a great Regard or him because you are fond of him, and that if I return to England I hope to be better acquainted with him.”

On the question of a pony some difference of opinion had obviously arisen, for Betsy wrote to ask her father if she might have one. He replies

(1) See the author's “A Friend of Warren Hastings” in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, 1904. Since its appearance the author has been entrusted, by the great-grand-nephew of the lady to whom they were addressed, with a large collection of letters written by the subject of the present article, and the fuller information thus obtained has rendered it possible to correct some of the statements at first made. The collection includes also many letters from the Rev. George and Mrs. Austen and their daughter Cassandra.

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that he is so pleased with her mamma's praises of her diligence and attention that she shall have the best little horse that can be bought, but she is not long its happy possessor. "I am much chagrined," he writes to his wife, "that you have given away the horse. Pray buy another, the best you can get, and keep it as long as there is a livery-stable in London." Mrs. Hancock's anxiety to cut down expenses was a sore point with her husband, and he makes things safe by informing Betsy of his wishes. In the same letter he tells her of the sad fate which has befallen "a very fine white Persian cat," which he was to have sent her from "the Governor, your godfather." An ill-conditioned cousin who was staying with him quarrelled with the next-door neighbour, "and the cat having strayed into his house this gentleman or some of his people shot her; I suppose to be revenged on Mr. Stanhope."

Very touching are some of these letters, showing the absent father's interest in all that interests his child. He sends her gold mohurs fresh from the mint for her collection of coins, praises her for her bravery at the dentist's, inquiries about her child friends, and constantly incites her to improvement in her lessons. Thoroughness was of extreme importance in his eyes, and he betrays a certain fear lest his wife should neglect the useful in favour of the ornamental in Betsy's education. He comments on her progress in writing, and sends her little sums to answer, in order to test her progress in arithmetic. On the subject of her music he becomes dogmatic. Expressing his pleasure that Betsy has a good ear for music, he directs that if she learns the guitar she is to have the best master obtainable, or she will fall into a habit of wrong fingering which can never be rectified;

"As I hold myself to be a perfect judge of this Matter, I shall not submit to have my opinion controverted, but insist on your Compliance with my request."

The ruffled spirit indicated in this letter was caused by the discovery that his wife was looking forward to bringing Betsy out to India in a year or two. Natural and innocent though the intention appears, Hancock would have none of it. It was quite possible that at twelve (which was the age her mother had selected) Betsy might be equal to most girls of fifteen, but would she have any judgment? She was sure to be "romantic," and to have picked up false notions of happiness, while there was scarcely a man in Bengal to whom he would wish to see her married, though there was "a great plenty of Coxcombs, with good persons but no other recommendation." Mrs. Hancock accepted the rebuke with a good grace—wonderfully good in view of the brilliant future that Calcutta would have offered her for the dearly loved godchild of the Governor—and laid her plans afresh. Her husband had vouchsafed his approval to an idea of hers of taking Betsy to France to learn the language, provided it was done before she was old enough "to risque picking up the levity and follies of the French." This fell through, however, and Mrs. Hancock suggested giving Betsy a French companion. "I can have no objection to it," her husband writes, "till the child may be old enough to imbibe the spirit of intrigue, without which no Frenchwoman ever existed."

But no steps had been taken to carry out the plan before the kindly, testy husband and father died in 1775, leaving his affairs in inextricable confusion, but happy in the knowledge that his wife and Betsy were provided for through the munificence of Hastings, and the way was now clear.

From the letters of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Austen, Philadelphia Hancock appears to have been a woman of considerable force of character. She lived near the Woodmans, in such close intimacy with them that Hastings says he regards the two families as one, and Mr. and Mrs. Woodman seem to have looked forward to a closer connection still. Among the many particulars he gives as to "Mrs. Hancock and Miss," Mr. Woodman is at pains to emphasise his son's devotion to the little girl. "Tom and she are as fond of each other as when you was in England," he writes to Hastings, and his wife says:

"Mrs. and Miss Hancock are very well, whom we have often the pleasure of seeing; we were all very happy there on Miss Hancock's birthday, and in particular Tommy, there being a ball for the young folks."

But Mrs. Hancock had other views, and taking with her Betsy and her faithful maid Clarinda, who had accompanied her from India, she spent several years on the Continent, "in Germany, France and Flanders," as Betsy tells us. They must have started before the war with France broke out in 1778, and it was not until the peace of 1783 that Mrs. Hancock was able to return to England in the hope of settling her husband's affairs, but Mr. Woodman keeps Hastings informed of their movements as far as he can.

It was natural that five or six years should work changes, and in their course the Betsy of her father's letter-book disappears, and Miss Eliza Hancock reveals herself to us in her own letters. In her day "Eliza" was considered a beautiful and romantic name. The letters are addressed to her cousin Philadelphia Walter (afterwards Mrs. Whitaker), the daughter of Mrs. Hancock's half-brother, whom Mr. Woodman mentions to have been present at one of "Miss Hancock and Tommy's balls...a grand affair." They are some thirty-five in number, and the writing, which is very clear and even—a tribute to Dr. Hancock's anxious endeavours changes wonderfully little in the twenty years over which they extend. Eliza was not a frequent correspondent—her father remarks sadly in one of his latest letters that Betsy must have forgotten to write to him; he would like to have one letter a year, if only to see how her writing improves—and she confesses the fact over and over again, but she wrote well and brightly. Here is a glimpse of Marie Antoinette in 1780:—

"We were a few days ago at Versailles, and had the honour to see their Majesties and all the royal family dine and sup. The Queen is a very fine Woman. She has a most beautiful complexion, and is indeed exceedingly handsome. She was most elegantly dressed. She had on a corset" (the stiff pointed bodice) "and Petticoat of pale green lutestring, covered with a transparent silver gauze. The Petticoat and sleeves puckered and confined in different places

with large bunches of roses. An amazing large bouquet of white Lilac. The same flower, together with gauze, Feathers, ribbon and diamonds intermixed with her hair. Her neck was entirely uncovered, and ornamented by a most beautiful chain of diamonds, of which she had likewise very fine bracelets. She was without gloves, I suppose to show her hands and arms, which are, without exception, the whitest and most beautiful I ever beheld."

Very kind and a little condescending is Eliza in depicting for her country cousin the gaieties of Paris. Whether it is the fashionable promenade at Longchamp, where the princesses appear in open calashes drawn by six horses—and among the most elegant is the Princess de Lamballe whose natural beauty does not want all the additions it had received—or the balls, at which, in contrast with the English fashion of retaining the same partner the whole evening, a lady changed her cavalier after every dance, she is careful to show the superiority of her own surroundings. But she sends valuable advice as to clothes and hair-dressing, powder and rouge, from the very headquarters of fashion, mentioning that large yellow straw hats, "such as I believe you may have seen worn by haymakers," are universally adopted, and called, like everything else at the moment, *à la Marlborough*, because the Queen has chanced to hear the Dauphin's nurse singing him to sleep with the old ballad. She comments on the French stage, where "it is still the fashion to translate or rather murder Shakespeare," the opera, and the prevalent balloon mania, and she rallies her correspondent repeatedly on the subject of various beaux or *agreeables*.

When she disclaims any thought of matrimony, while hinting that the matter depends entirely on herself, and in the next letter asks Philadelphia how she would like *un cousin françois*, we begin to be suspicious, and are not surprised to find Mr. Woodman writing to Hastings that she is about to marry a French officer, with "great connections and expectations," much to the dismay of her English relatives.

Eliza writes next as the Comtesse de Feuilleide, and she describes her journey into "Guyenne" to visit her husband's family and possessions, and their sojourn for his health at Bagnères, where there are "publick diversions as at Bath and Tunbridge Wells," and "a most charming society, chiefly English." In 1787 she is in London, the proud mother of a "wonderful brat," born in England by the express desire of M. de Feuilleide, "who pays me the compliment of being very partial to my country," and named Hastings after Eliza's godfather, now just embarked upon the long agony of his trial. In spite of her preference for French diversions, she does not hold aloof from English society.

"I have been for some time the greatest rake imaginable, and really wonder how such a meagre creature as I am can support so much fatigue, of which the history of one day will give you some idea, for I only stood from two to four in the Drawing-room, and of course loaded with a great hoop of no inconsiderable weight," (this was still worn at Court, though discarded from ordinary dress) "went to the Dutchess of Cumberland's in

the evening, and from thence to Almacks, where I staid till five in the morning."

In her next letter she is full of a new project. She is to spend Christmas at Steventon with the Austens, and is intent on private theatricals—the prototype of those to be played on the more famous stage of "Mansfield Park." Long ago her father had congratulated her on having performed pretty well her part in a children's play, she had spent Carnival in 1786 with friends who had erected an elegant theatre for acting plays among themselves, and henceforth she was to be the moving spirit of the performances which took place in the Rectory dining-room in winter, and in the barn in summer, and for which James Austen, the eldest brother, wrote prologues and epilogues.

High Life below Stairs and *The Sultan*, in which the title-part was played by Henry Austen, are the only plays mentioned by name, but between the cousins the subject is hardly mentioned after Philadelphia had refused a very urgent request to take part, because she was reluctant to "appear in Publick." A series of visits followed that to Steventon, to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings at Beaumont Lodge, Windsor, to St. John's College, Oxford, where James and Henry Austen were in residence, and where Eliza was "delighted with the Black Gown and thought the Square Cap mighty becoming," and then the travellers prepared to return home.

"You mention the troubles in France," Eliza says in August, 1788, "but you will easily imagine from what I said concerning my approaching journey that things are in a quieter state than they were some months ago."

The next letter is from Paris, full of charming gossip about little Hastings and affectionate raillery of Philadelphia on her love-affairs, but in the next, dated January 1791, the beginning of the end is already in view. Eliza and her little boy are at Margate for the purpose of sea-bathing, "notwithstanding the severity of the weather and Frost and Snow, which is, I think, somewhat courageous," in which we may agree with her. But:

"My Spouse, who is a strong *Aristocrate* or Royalist in his Heart, has joined this latest party, who have taken refuge in Piedmont, and is now at Turin, where the French Princes of the Blood are assembled, and watching some favourable opportunity to reinstate themselves in the country they have quitted."

M. de Feuillide seems to have found his opportunity, for when Eliza writes next, from London where she is nursing her mother, though he has promised her a visit in September, she fears that France will by that time be engaged in a war in which his services will be required. Mrs. Hancock died early in 1792, and M. de Feuillide succeeded in reaching his wife's side, but was compelled to hurry back to France, having been warned that if he remained longer in England, he would be "considered one of the Emigrants, and all his property forfeited to the Nation."

He left for Paris, hoping to return in a few months, but Eliza never saw him again, though she did not know for a long time what had become

of him. As late as September 1794, when she writes to Hastings, she was still uncertain as to his fate, but it must have been made clear almost immediately after this. According to the Rev. J. E. Austen-Leigh's 'Life of Jane Austen,' the Comte de Feuillade was guillotined on a charge of *incivisme*, based on his turning arable land into pasture, which was interpreted as betraying a desire to embarrass the Republic by producing a famine.

There does not seem to be any foundation for Mr. Austen-Leigh's belief that Eliza herself barely escaped a like fate. As far as can be discovered from her letters—though in those to her cousin there is a gap between October 1792 and September 1796—and those of Mr. Woodman, she spent the two years of suspense in England, principally paying visits to relatives, and especially those at Steventon Rectory, to whom she felt herself more and more closely drawn.

"I always tenderly loved my Uncle," she says, "but think he is now dearer to me than ever...Cassandra and Jane are both very much grown, (the latter is now taller than myself), and greatly improved as well in manners as in Person...They are, I think, equally sensible, and both so to a degree seldom met with, but still my Heart gives the preference to Jane, whose kind partiality to me, indeed, requires a return of the same nature. Henry is now rather more than six Foot high, I believe. He is also much improved, and is certainly endowed with uncommon abilities, which indeed seem to have been bestowed, though in a different way, upon each member of this Family."

When the series of letters begins again in 1796, the Austen family divide Eliza's attention with her pugs. She already possesses "an amiable Terrier," presented by her coachman, but she writes to Philadelphia,

"I once more thank you for your *puggish* intentions in my favour, and wish that you may be able to realise them, though to say the truth I am already possessed of one of these bewitching animals. I shall joyfully receive as many more Pugs as you can procure for me. You would laugh to see me consulting my doctor about my dog."

Her cousin's ecstasies over pugs failed, however, to deceive the astute Philadelphia, who had for some time been prophesying a second marriage for her. She has heard that Henry Austen was disappointed in love, and to baffle her inquiries Eliza invents a pretty, wicked-looking girl with bright black eyes, a most intolerable flirt, to whom his trouble is due. But Philadelphia persists, and Eliza makes a half-confession.

"I do not believe the *parties* will ever come together; not however, that they have quarrelled, but one of them cannot bring her mind to give up dear Liberty and yet dearer Flirtation. After a few months' stay in the Country she sometimes thinks it possible to undertake sober Matrimony, but a few weeks' stay in London convinces her how little the state suits her taste."

In the next letter her "impulse in favour of Liberty and disfavour of a Lord and Master" is still irresistible, but her thoughts run on weddings. "Mr. Pitt's match with Miss Eden," the Princess Royal's with the Prince of Württemberg, and Miss Farren's with Lord Derby, are all commented upon, the last with high scorn. Then we hear that:—

"Captain Austen has just spent a few days in town. I suppose you know that our Cousin Henry is now Captain, Paymaster and Adjutant. He is a very lucky young man, and bids fair to possess a considerable share of riches and Honours. I believe he has now given up all thought of the Church, and he is right, for he is certainly not so fit for a Parson as a Soldier."

But lest this approval should lead to presumption, she hastens to assure her friend that she believes the match will never take place, and thinks the young man ill-used, proving the hardness of her heart by making a journey to Cheltenham with a Miss Payne, a friend of her childhood, and their respective pugs. She pays a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings at Daylesford, which she describes as really a little Paradise, "the House fitted up with a degree of Taste and Magnificence rarely to be met with." The next letter is dated "Lowestoffe," and in it she defends herself smartly against Philadelphia's charge of having gone there for the sake of seeing Henry, whose corps is quartered at Norwich. Three months later she talks of leaving London, ostensibly on account of the new taxes which have raised her rent and will force her to give up her carriage, but when she writes next she signs herself "Eliza Austen." Incurrible to the last, she sends kind messages from "*my cousin* (I have an aversion to the word *husband* and never make use of it.)"

To Hastings she had written, on December 26th 1797, in a very different strain:—

"Dear Sir,—As I flatter myself you still take an interest in my welfare, I think it incumbent on me to acquaint you with a circumstance by which it must be materially influenced. I have consented to an union with my cousin, Captain Austen, who has the honour of being known to you. He has been for some time in possession of a comfortable income, and the excellence of his heart, temper and understanding, together with his steady attachment to me, his affection for my little boy, and disinterested concurrence in the disposal of my Property in favour of this latter have at length induced me to an acquiescence which I have with-held for more than two years. Need I say, my dear Sir, that I most earnestly wish for your approbation on this occasion, and that it is with the sincerest attachment I shall ever remain,

"Your much obliged and affectionate God-daughter, Elizabeth de Feuillide.

"I beg leave to present my affectionate Compts. to Mrs. Hastings.

Henry Austen, who thus attained his heart's desire, was the brilliant and erratic exception in the solidly satisfactory Austen family. Fascinating and sanguine, possessing great conversational powers, he had tried the

patience of his parents by entering on several professions, and settling to none. That Hastings had repeatedly befriended him is shown by his grateful letters, in one of which, alluding to the admiration of his parents for his benefactor, he says "Among the earliest lessons of my infancy I was taught by precept and example to love and venerate your name." When he broke loose finally, as Eliza thought, from the Church, for which his family had destined him, he appears to have combined banking with the duties of an officer in the militia.

Of their life in country quarters at Ipswich, when the country was agitated by fears of a French invasion, his wife gives an amusing description, but when he was ordered to Dublin, she remained at Dorking with her son, whose brief life was a series of illnesses and temporary recoveries. The boy died in 1801, and the letter in which she answers Philadelphia's condolences is the last of the collection from which we have so largely quoted. There are two among the Hastings Papers, undated, and wrongly bound up with documents of 1818, which must belong to this period, one accompanying the gift of a cup and saucer, painted by herself, and the other regretting that she had missed seeing her godfather when in town.

Mr. Austen-Leigh tells us that she and Henry went to France after the Peace of Amiens, hoping to recover the Comte de Feuillide's property, which she had heard in 1797 would be restored to her if she applied for it in person. The result of the application is not stated, but on the sudden renewal of the war Henry and Eliza narrowly escaped the fate which overtook so many other English travellers. Her excellent French enabled her to pass as a native, and her husband remained silent while she gave the orders at the post-houses, so that they reached neutral soil before they could be seized and detained.

Jane Austen's letters contain descriptions of several visits paid to them in London, and of the musical parties which Eliza got up among her French friends, notably one at which the crowd was so great that Jane sat outside in the passage. London life was probably much more to Eliza's taste than the country parsonage which Philadelphia had pictured for her, promising to come and pay her frequent visits, and prevent her and her spouse from quarrelling or going to sleep, but after her death in 1813 Henry returned to his first love, and took holy orders.

Living in London, he acted as Jane's literary agent, and on the publication of '*Pride and Prejudice*,' sent a copy to Hastings, who returned, as Jane tells us, a letter full of delight. Eliza's marriage had been only an additional link between the aged Proconsul and the Hampshire clergyman's family. Fifty years earlier, his dear and only son had been confided to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Austen, and at his death mourned as a child of their own, and the bond thus formed was never broken.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

Revenue History of a Bengal Pargana.

THE early revenue history of Bengal is lost in obscurity. It is, however, known that a systematic account of revenue was kept by Crown Officers independently of the Zemindars and submitted to the Dewan or Chief Revenue Officer in a Subah or Province. The Kanungo was an important and responsible officer during the Muhammaden times. We find in a "Report of the offices of the Kanungoes' office" dated 4th May 1787 (1) as follows:—

"They (Cannungoes) kept a Tuxeem (taksim) account of their respective Parganas, which specified the revenues village by village according to the distribution of division of lands, for in the 15th year of the reign of Akbar when Raja Todar Mull and Muzaffar Khan were appointed to the joint administration of the office of Vizier, it appears that they collected from the Kanungoes the Tuxeem account of the Empire and having regulated the assessment by an estimate of the produce of the lands formed a new Jumma which was called Tumaree probably from being entered in the Rolls of the Empire, Tumaree signifying literally a Roll."

It appears therefore, that the revenue system was an organised one even before the historic assessment by Raja Todarmull, which was based on the previous records. In a letter of the Collector of Bhagulpore dated the 6th December 1787 and published as an Appendix to the Fifth Report sixteen different registers are mentioned as being maintained by Kanungoes. Grant accepts partially "the plausible story of Cossim Ali having destroyed or carried away with him on his expulsion all the material archives of the exchequer", and the papers referred to by Grant in his Analysis "contained in about twenty volumes of Persian ferds or accounts of revenue prior to the era of the Dewany procured through the influence of a light & private purse." But these records were not systematically preserved during later chaotic days of the Muhammadan rule in Bengal & were not handed over to the English when they assumed the Dewany in 1765 A.D. The result was the uncertainty of the foreign rulers to arrive at a proper & equitable estimation of the resources of the territories taken over by them & the consequent controversy that was raised over the matter. All revenue records subsequent to Todar Mull's rent-roll showed the 'Tumar Jama'. Assessment in Tumar Jama resembled according to Grant the Domesday Valuation of England. Sir John Shore in his Minute quoted in Appendix I to the Fifth Report traced the variations of the Tumar Jama by Todar Mull to the assessment of Cossim Ali in 1763. But he does not give the details regarding the component

parts *viz.* of different Parganas. Grant has given minuter details and as Archdeacon Firminger aptly remarks: "It is to his treatises every student of Bengal and Behar History must turn when he undertakes to recover the past history of any given district within those provinces". But even Grant's Analysis does not go enough into the details to trace the variations of revenue within a particular Pargana. Whether this was due to the absence of materials before him or to a desire of not encumbering his voluminous Analysis is not known. Any record containing details regarding variations of revenue in a Pargana would, perhaps, be of considerable interest to a student of revenue history of Bengal. In the Mymensingh Collectorate there is such a revenue record regarding Pargana Atia which lies in the modern districts of Mymensingh, Pabna & Dacca. The record begins from 1113 B.S. (1706 A.D.) to 1142 B.S. (1735 A.D.) or 30 years prior to the assumption of the Dewany by the English. The record is in Bengali, but the terms are mostly Persian and contains, in the words of Grant, "a technical jargon of obscure, but not always of unmeaning words."

The heading of the paper begins "Moázíná-Dehá bedehi Pargana Atiá Sarkár Bájuhái Sanáwati". The term "Moazina or 'Mowazinah' has been explained by Mr. Patterson in his report as "records which state and particularize the quantity of land in actual cultivation and the quantity uncultivated or waste...the Jumma or sum assessed &c. &c." In this particular record, however, only the revenue or Jumma assessed is shown but other particulars *viz.* quantity of land &c. are not found. The term "Deha Bedehi" is not clearly understood probably it means village by village, *i.e.*, "of all component villages"—Deh meaning a village. Sarkar Bajuhai is mentioned as one of the Sarkars in Bengal in the Ayeen Akbari, comprising mostly of Parganas ending with the terminal 'Bazu' *viz.* Barabazu, Pratapbazu &c. The word 'Bazu' has been explained by Professor Blochman as literally meaning 'an arm' hence a portion. Atia is not separately mentioned in the Ayeen but we have the entry "Burbazoo, Nusseetshahy and Mehrownah Kharana Heranah and Serally, Mahls 5". It is probable that Atia was a component part of 'Burbazoo' for laterly in Grant's Analysis we find "Ateah Cagmarry Burbazoo Hussensshahy in the Chuckleh of Ghoragaut constituting 3 Zamindaries". This leads to the assumption that Atia and Cagmarry—the two well-known Parganas of the present day were possibly carved out in later days from Mehrownah, Kharana, Heranah and Serally as no mention of them are found in later papers or at present.

Next we find from the record that Atia is comprised of Mouzas and Mahals numbering 743 *viz.* 726 Mouzas and 17 Mahals, Mouza is a village yielding a revenue being distinguished from Mahals or other sources of revenue. The entry below Mouza and Mahal is "Kát tan Rájá Todar Mull tan 17683—5 annas 9½ gandas Mináhawar". This probably means that Tankha or Rupees 17,683-5 annas 9½ gandas is revenue according to Raja Todar Mull's assessment including those of the dismembered portions, the word 'Minha' meaning deductions. We have no basis for testing these figures shown as revenue with those of Ayeen Akbari for as stated

before, the Ayeen does not show this Pargana. So far regarding the heading.

Next on the first page we have the usual name of the God "Ram" denoting that the writer was a Hindu. Below that is written "Sanwati Pargana Atia". In the corner we have "Moázíná 1 rupee 9 annas" denoting that the record has 25 leaves, below that 1 rupee 10 annas showing that it has 26 leaves including the heading. Next below is 'Ing Dehar Farda rupees thirty one annas ten only' this probably means that the statement regarding *Deha* or village contained 506 leaves. This shows that this record had with it a village by village account which unfortunately is not found, and probably explains "Deha Bedehi" of the heading.

Below the heading page is the page for year 1311 B.S. This shows as in the heading the number of Mouzas and Mahals and the revenue according to Raja Todar Mull's settlement. Below that is shown "Minawaran", i.e. deductions on account of disbursements viz. of 241 Mouzas and Mahals and their revenue. Deducting this amount from the total revenue Rs. 14,420-2 annas 13½ gandas is shown as revenue for the remaining 502 Mouzas and Mahals. Below that is entry "Hasil Moafi Takseem Rs. 11,873-1 anna 2½ gandas." The term "Hasil Moafi Takseem" probably means the present Jama according to Tuckseem. Tuckseem is the constituent parts of the Tumar Jama (2). The Tuckseem Jama was the actual revenue payable or rather the current revenue and the Tumar Jama was shown for the purpose of comparison and testing the current revenue. The difference in Tumar and Tuckseem Jama may be due to deductions owing to assignments in the name of "Mir Jumla" which as will be seen later on is Rs. 3,125 including "Kasur" at the rate of Rs. 15 and odd. The detail of Tuckseem Jama is then given as "Asal Rupees 10,233-annas 9, Kasur fi-sad Rs. 16 annas nil 5½ gandas—Rupees 1,639 annas nil 8½ gandas". 'Asal' is original rent exclusive of subsequent cesses, 'Kasur' is an item of the abwab formerly levied as part of the *Dehkurcha* or village charges to make up the deficiency of the rupee collected in the Mofussil or interior of the country which under the Moghul Government were required to be paid into the Treasury at an equal standard (3). "Fi-sad" means per hundred. Next are the details of 'Asal' and 'Kasur' regarding the Mouzas which fall under *Mal Jahat* as distinguished from *Sayar Jahat*. The pages for succeeding years are merely repetition of entries till we come to 1118 B.S. (1711 A.D.). In this year we find the Jama as Rs. 12,108-1 anna 2½ gandas made up of Guzástá (former revenue) Rs. 11,873-1 anna 2½ gandas with Ijáfá (increase on Hustabud) Darun (on account of) Ali Shahi Rs. 235". Probably it is the impost referred to as Circar Ali in Grant's Analysis. Next in 1119 B.S. we have Kharij or dismemberment of one Mouza, & again Todar Mull's Jama is shown & the deduction on account of this Mouza is shown in Todar

(2) Sir John Shore's Minute, p. 4, Vol. II. Archdeacon Firminger's edition of the Fifth Report.

(3) Wilkin's Glossory to the Fifth Report.

Mull's Jama as well as in the Tuckseem Jama. This supports Francis's assertion 'that in all cases of transfers of property amongst Zemindars, the new Sanads are taken out on the Tumar Jama. The increase of Rs. 235 is not however, apportioned to the dismembered Taluk but wholly added to the Parganas.

Next in 1121 B.S. to the Guzasta of Rs. 235 is added an increase of Ejafa Mir Jumla of Rs. 3,125-7 annas, 2½ gandas thus making the total Sewaya (increased) Rs. 3,360-7 annas 2½ gandas. Thus the total revenue is Rs. 15,151-13-4 gds. Probably this refers to resumption of some Jaigir lands held in the name of Mir Jumla the great General of Aurangzeb and the revenue added to the Royal Exchequer. Next in the accounts of 1123 to 1126 B.S. Khalsa revenue is shown as Rs. 14,318-8 annas 5 gandas owing to a deduction of Rs. 833-5 annas on account of "Jaigir Nawab", which was probably another resumption of an assignment for the support of the Nawab of Bengal. The term Khalsa meaning Exchequer revenue is here introduced probably to distinguish from 'Jaigir' or revenue appropriated for the maintenance of officers of Government. In 1127 B.S. to this is added 'Ejafa Hundian' of Rs. 888-5-10 gds. making total revenue Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. 'Ejafa Hundian' means probably additions on account of Bills of exchange for transmission of revenue to the capital. In 1128 B.S. 'Mokra Jama Hasil Mai Sheoai' is shown at the same figure of Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. with the detail that the *Asal* including *Kasur* Rs. 11,791-4-12½ gds. and Sheoai according to Guzasta Rs. 4,248-12-12½ gds. This is continued in subsequent years till 1141 B.S. In 1142 B.S. the Khalisa revenue is shown as Rs. 15,206-13-15 gds. This is due to reassignment of Rs. 833-5 annas on account of 'Jaigir Nawab' as in 1123 B.S. to 1126 B.S.

In Grant's Analysis we find the following entry:—

Ateah in Circar Bazoochai on the confines of Dacca * * * * *

1. Ausil Jama exclusive of portions elsewhere accounted for	...	...	16,041
2. Net Ausil & Abwab on the same territory to 1172 before the Dewany	...	...	47,404
3. Net Ausil & Abwab in 1172 settled by M. R. Khan	...	...	48,500
4. Gross medium settlement of the same territory in 1184 A.D.	...	...	38,130

It would be seen the revenue shown in the record under reference agrees with that shown in Col. I above.

It would however appear that the revenue was increased between 1127 B.S. (1720 A.D.) to 1171 B.S. (1764 A.D.) from Rs. 16,041 to Rs. 47,404. The increase would appear to be very excessive. It is however explained by some copies of Tuxeem papers of 1168 and 1169 B.S. which were filed by the Zamindars at the time of Resumption proceedings prior to the revenue surveys. In a petition filed by the Zamindars of Pargana Atia in connection with the proceedings it is seen that the

Zamindars were in possession of Pargana Atia, Azimabad, Alepshahi and portion of Eusufshahi. Copies of Tuxeem papers of all the Parganas excepting the last were filed along with the petition. In these papers the Jama of Pargana Atia including increases is shown as Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. and Asul Jama including Kasur is shown as Rs. 11,791-6-3 gds. & the increase including Hundian is shown as Rs. 4,248-14-2 gds. The figures exactly correspond with the figures under similar heads in the record we are dealing with.

To this if we take into consideration the revenues of the two other Parganas *viz.* Azimabad & Alepshahi we get as follows—Atia Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. Azimabad Rs. 1,828-4-18 gds. Alepshahi Rs. 8,544-13-17 gds. Total Rs. 26,413-4-10 gds. As regards Eusufshahi we have got no Tuxeem records, but in Grant's Analysis we have the Jama of Eusufshahi in 1135 B.S. excluding the dismemberments to be Rs. 25,167. This will bring us very nearly to the figures in col. 2 the difference being explained by some dismemberment between 1135 to 1172 B.S. It is interesting to note that the names of Parganas Alepshahi appears in the Ayeen but in the Grant's Analysis we have no mention of Alepshahi whereas there is mention of Atia and Eusufshahi. Again Pargana Azimabad finds no mention in any of these. In Rennell's map Atia is shown as a district with Parganas Atia and Alepshahi. The latter occupying an area in Madhupur Jungles of the present Atia Pargana. During Revenue Survey the Zamindars wanted the villages appertaining to the 4 Parganas to be shown separately under them. The authorities decided that as only Atia Pargana was mentioned in Quinquennial papers and as the villages are the real units of the estate it was unnecessary to group them under the Parganas claimed. Now coming to the present subject it appears from a statement accompanying letter from Collector of Mymensingh to the Board of Revenue dated 15-3-1792, that the revenue in 1183 B.S. (1776 A.D.) was Rs. 56,856 from which reduction of Rs. 18,725 was made in 1184 B.S. (1177 A.D.) giving a net revenue of Rs. 38,131 which corresponds with that shown by Grant. This was probably the settlement made by the Committee of Circuit. In 1188 B.S. or 1781 A.D. the revenue was increased by Rs. 16,000. This gives Rs. 54,131 as revenue. On this there was increase of Rs. 500 in 1192 B.S. (1785 A.D.) giving a net revenue of Rs. 54,631. From this there is a reduction of Rs. 64 on account of a Taluq separated thus giving net revenue of Rs. 54,567. The Pargana was next annexed to Mymensingh district from Murshidabad. In the proposals of settlement submitted by Mr. Wroughton in his letter dated 12th February 1788 we find the Jama to be Rs. 51,837. This is probably owing to a deduction of 5% on account of some temporary causes. In 1197 B.S. (1790 A.D.) the revenue of 1785 was reverted to & after a deduction of Rs. 2,085 for the Sayar duties abolished in that year, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 52,482.

Next we will see whether the increases made had any connection with the actual receipts. That was certainly so will appear from another statement which is a Goswara Jama Khuruch of 1198 B.S. (1791 A.D.) or

statement of collection and expenditure as shown below at the time when the Estate was under the management of Government:—

Gross collection	...	...	Rs. 64,423	1	11
Deduct Sebundy allowance	...	...	„ 6,072	0	0
Balance remaining	...	...	„ 58,351	1	11
Deduct Zemindar's Mossoharrah (allowance)					
including his Savar Musaharah	...	...	„ 5,494	9	4 (4)
Net Balance	...	...	„ 52,856	8	7
Deduct Sadar Jama	...	...	„ 52,482	12	3
Kaffiat or Profit	...	...	„ 373	12	4

Subsequently at the time of Decennial Settlement *i.e.*, in 1198 B.S. or 1791—92 A.D. the revenue was fixed at Rs. 54,058-2-0 owing to an increase of Rs. 1,575 on account of nij Taluks. This revenue was made permanent. The foregoing will, I think, set at rest the contention put forward now-a-days that the permanent settlement was made for a lump sum irrespective of the gross collection & in disregard to it. It is unfortunate that in the record under reference the account paper of village by village is not forthcoming. This would have shown how the total assessment was arrived at and the mode of calculation of revenue during the years 1706 to 1735 covered by the record. But in the copy of tuxeem account of 1168 B.S. referred to above we have the accounts for villages; they show that there were variations in Asal Jama of villages due probably to increase or decrease of collection due to extension or decrease of cultivation on which there is the rateable increase on account of the abwab assessment. Most of these villages as far as I have seen agree with the villages shown in the quinquennial papers of 1202 B.S. This proves that the unalterable units of assessment were the villages whose numbers were invariably shown in these revenue records, and scrupulously accounted for in case of additions and dismemberments. On the other hand it raises doubt in the contention that the units of settlement in Mogul and British period were parganas for we have seen that the parganas were variable in extent and boundaries capable of dismemberment and amalgamation.

It further appears that the mention of names of Parganas in the old revenue records were simply for the purpose of appellation of a Zemindari estate most of which in the case of recently created ones were named after the names of the original founders such as Sherpur, Mominsingh, Mamudabad, Burbacpur, whereas the smaller units *viz.*, talukdari estates were invariably named after the names of the creators of the taluks or after the names of the most important village in it.

J. N. GHOSE.

(4) The amount is arrived at this, proprietary allowance at 1/11 of Rs. 58,351 equal to Rs. 5,304 plus 1/11 on abolished Sayer revenue of Rs. 2,085 or Rs. 190 total Rs. 5,494.

The Editor's Note Book.

WE have a discovery to chronicle, which should be dear to all lovers of Hickey and his heroines. In "Sketches of India written by an Officer for Fire-Side Travellers At Home", there is an undoubted reference to a portrait of Pott's Emily. The officer is Captain Moyle Sherer, a Winchester boy (see page 267 of the book), who was at Calcutta in 1819, sailing from Madras early in June of that year. On page 106 of the third edition (1825) he writes.

"In the cabinet of a portrait-painter in Calcutta, among a few valueless pictures is one, which must often, I should think, awaken a sigh in such of our fair countrywomen as look on it. I have little excuse for mentioning it here; but it is somehow naturally associated with beauty and sorrow. With beaver hat, and clustering ringlets, marking the costume of some forty years gone by, from a damaged canvass in a dull-worn frame, looks out upon you a face of such soft loveliness, that you feel no surprise when told it is that of a devoted and tender mistress, who left the country of which she was the flower, and came with her protector here; still less that she drooped and died upon this sickly shore. On a tufted knoll (near the mouth of the river she entered only as a corpse) stands the small tomb, which love, grief, and repentance have raised to her memory".

In whose cabinet was it that Sherer saw the canvass? The leading painter of that time was incontestably George Chinnery, who flourished in Calcutta from 1808 to 1825. The other artists in 1817 were John Barrois (miniature painter); J. Belnos (miniature painter, arrived 1807); Lewis Contestabili (portrait painter); F. Desbruslais (miniaturist and cabinet maker, who died at Chandernagore in 1828, aged 57 years and 8 months, after a residence of 38 years in India, "a native of Britain in France"), Robert Home (arrived 1790 and deceased at Cawnpore in 1834, aged 83, painter to the King of Oude and resident at Lucknow); James Lock (miniature painter); Timothy Long (ditto); Thomas Morris (portrait painter) and J. Mosley (landscape painter, arrived 1812).

It seems natural that the owner of the cabinet would have been Chinnery. But of course he was not the painter, for Emily died before reaching the sickly shore of Bengal, off Culpee, where as Grand says (1766) "the Honourable Company's ships usually anchored". In the Errata and Notes to Hickey's Fourth Volume (p. 488), Mr. Spence states that Emily (variously surnamed Bertie, Coventry, Warren and Pott) was painted not only by Reynolds several times, but also by Romney, Sheriff and Dance. The beaver hat would go to show that the picture was painted in England. Presumably

Pott brought out with him a portrait or portraits of his darling Emily, which after his death on June 22, 1795, found their way to Chinerry's studio; or even before, for Mrs. Pott (Sally Cruttenden) would hardly have tolerated a likeness of her predecessor. When in 1825 Chinnery "had to bolt for China for £40,000 of debt", he doubtless left his old pictures behind and certainly would not have taken damaged canvasses with him. It is well known (see "Tom Raw" and elsewhere) that he had a quantity of lumber in his attic, which are presumably the other valueless pictures Sherer noticed. But is there no list of the pictures offered at Chinnery's sale, after his exit to China?

The words "some forty years gone by" coincide with the date of Emily's death which was in May 1782. As regards the "tufted knoll at the mouth of the river where the small tomb stood," it is stated in *B. P. and P.* (Vols. XXIV-XXVI) that there is at Culpee a masonry column, with no inscription visible, known locally as the tomb of Mana Bibi. "According to local tradition, a lady died on board one of the ships and was brought ashore for burial. She is said to have been Portuguese, but as the vernacular word for this could be Feringhee, we need be in no way committed to the nationality, nor need we feel debarred from identifying the monument with Pott's Folly".

The following note is by Sir Evan Cotton.

IN December 1910 a picture of the "Early English School" was offered for sale at Christie's under the following description: "81. Warren Hastings with his wife and Indian attendant in a garden: buildings and river in the distance, 40 inches by 51 inches." No painter's name was given. The description was clearly inaccurate. The male figure which is in a standing position bears no resemblance to Hastings. It is much too tall; the features, and also the shape of the head, are unlike: and the scarlet coat with black facings and gold epaulettes, is obviously a military costume. The lady, who is seated, has red-brown hair, large brown eyes, full lips, and a somewhat sensuous mouth. It is impossible to connect her with Mrs. Hastings. The river-scene which forms the background was thought by Lord Curzon to be the banks of the Hooghly. There is a pillared bungalow with a garden by the river side behind the figures, and a Mahomedan tomb or mosque and some buildings are seen on the other side of the river, which is narrow. Possibly the place represented is Chinsurah. The picture was reproduced in an early volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II, Part I, p. 173), and also in the late Mr. Wilmot Corfield's *Calcutta Faces and Places*, as a supposed portrait of Colonel and Lady Anne Monson. No evidence is supplied to support the suggestion, but it is certainly more probable than the one which we have been discussing. Nevertheless it has lately been offered to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall as a portrait of Warren Hastings and his wife! It was put up once more at Christie's on March 19, 1920, and was then described as the work of A. W. Devis, which it may

A supposed portrait of Colonel and Lady Anne Monson.

very well be. Since then it would seem to have remained in the possession of a dealer.

The three following notes are by Sir William Foster.

TWO pictures of Indian interest were sold at Sotheby's on 30 June, 1926.

Indian Pictures
in the Sale Room.
"Zoffany's Cock-
Match".

The first was a full length portrait by Robert Home of the Marquess Wellesley, a replica of the picture now in Viceroyal Lodge, Simla (the Yellow Drawing Room), but on a smaller scale. This fell to Mr. Francis Edwards at £20. The second was the famous Cock-Match picture, belonging to the Marquess of Tweeddale. The bidding was spirited, but in the end the painting was secured by Sir George Sutherland, late of Calcutta, for £760. It is believed to have been painted by Zoffany in England for Warren Hastings, to replace an earlier copy lost on the way home. At the Daylesford House sale in 1853 this canvas realised 215 guineas, and it was sold again in 1898 at Christie's for 210 guineas. The price it has now fetched is a measure of the increased popularity of Zoffany's compositions. The engraving by Richard Earlom is well known.

IN the beautiful cloisters of Wells Cathedral may be seen a tablet bearing the following inscription: "Mary, eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Francis Seymour. First married to John Hyde, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta: afterwards to John Payne, of Droxford, Hants, Esq." This memorial was erected by her second husband, whose name was subsequently added to the tablet.

Lord Francis Seymour was the fourth son of the eighth Duke of Somerset, and was Dean of Wells for thirty-three years. In 1749 he married Catherine, daughter of the Rev.

The beautiful
Mrs. Hyde.

Thomas Payne. Their daughter Mary wedded Mr. John Hyde on 1 September, 1773 and, upon his appointment to the Calcutta bench six months later, accompanied him to India. William Hickey, in his *Memoirs*, (vol. ii, p. 127) testifies that Mrs. Hyde was then 'a very lovely woman,' and later he says (p. 165): 'I generally went once a week to very pleasant musical parties at Mr. Hyde's, his lady being much attached to music, playing admirably herself and possessing an uncommon fine voice.' Busted (*Echoes*, fourth edition, p. 126) quotes from Mackrabie's diary a passage referring in similar terms to Mrs. Hyde's beauty and to her Tuesday musical parties.

Justice Hyde succumbed to the Bengal climate on 8 July, 1796, at the age of fifty-nine, and was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. His widow went home, and on 4 February, 1798, took a second husband, as already recorded. She died on 12 April, 1814, aged 62, and was interred in the new burial ground of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, London. Mr. Payne survived until 10 March, 1819.

“IN *Bengal: Past and Present*, No. 59, Vol. XXX, Part i, p. 115, it was stated that search had been made in several libraries, but without success, for copies of the *Oriental Magazine*, or *Calcutta Amusement*, mentioned by Dr. Busteed in his list of early Calcutta newspapers. I find (writes Sir William Foster) that the publication of the first issue on 6 April, 1785 was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the following day, and it was stated the journal would appear on the first Wednesday in each succeeding month. No 2 (for April) was advertised in the *Gazette* of 12 May, but no reference has been found to any later issue. The inference is that the journal failed to attract, and consequently was discontinued. This would account for the non-preservation of the two odd parts.” Mr. W. H. Carey in “*The Good Old Days of John Company*” states that on the 6th April 1785 was published by Messrs. Gordon and Hay the first number of the “*Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusements*” (plural), a monthly. Busteed (Fourth Edition, p. 183) adds that in the first number is given “an elegant engraving of the late Governor-General with some account of his life and transactions.”

THE connection of Bass' beer with India is well known, but it is not generally known that Michael Thomas Bass (1799-1884) the famous brewer and for 35 years Liberal M. P. for Derby, married the daughter of one of John Company's officers. On Dec. 8, 1835 he led to the altar Eliza Jane, eldest daughter of the late Major Samuel Arden, 27th B. N. I., a member of the family of Arden of Longcrofts, co. Stafford. Samuel entered the Bengal Army in 1798, was a Cadet in 1799, Lieutenant April 21, 1800, Captain Feb. 22, 1814, and Major May 12, 1820, dying at Saugor Oct. 18, 1822. His wife was Jane, daughter of James Franklyn, Esq. merchant of Bristol and M. P. for Poole; and their second daughter Anne married George Maitland of the Bengal Civil Service. His branch of the Arden family is connected with the Ardens of Park Hall, co. Warwick and it is an interesting fact that Shakespeare's mother Mary Arden of Wilmcote was the daughter of Sir Edward Arden of Park Hall, a first cousin of another Edward Arden (1542-1583) High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1575, a zealous Roman Catholic and supporter of Mary Queen of Scots, who set out for London in 1583 on the errand of shooting Queen Elizabeth, whom he vituperated as a serpent and a viper. He was arrested and racked, confessed and was hanged at Tyburn in October 1583 and his head with that of his son-in-law John Somerville set on London Bridge beside the skull of the Earl of Desmond. The grandfather of the Miss Arden who married Bass the brewer was Alatheia, daughter of Robert Cotton, of Worcester. Mr. George Barnett Smith, the writer of the article on Michael Thomas Bass in the D. N. B. does not refer to his marriage with Miss Arden but emphasises and rightly the fact that for 50 years Bass & Co. confined their trade in bitter beer to India.

The still-born
“*Oriental Maga-
zine or Calcutta
Amusement.*”

Bass' beer and
India. Mr. Bass'
wife, daughter of
an officer of John
Company.

Shakespeare's
mother an Arden.

THERE were several Ardens besides Samuel in the Company's Military Service; Russell Arden, Lieutenant in the Bengal Army Sept. 15, 1768 who commanded the Militia Sepoys at Dacca and resigned Oct. 15, 1776, and George Arden, of the 4th Bombay N. I., Cadet 1804, Ensign June 20, 1805, Lieutenant Dec. 25, 1806, Captain May 4, 1820, Major Sept. 11, 1828, invalided Dec. 16, 1829 and retired Nov. 30, 1830 in India. Another Arden, John Humphrey Cotton, eldest son of Major John Arden of the 3rd or King's Own Dragoons, the elder brother of Major Samuel, also died in India. The most interesting holder of the name is undoubtedly Richard Pepper Arden (1745-1804), first and last Baron Alvanley and the "little Peppy" of Thurlow's Reminiscences, who had the good fortune

Lord Alvanley, when he took chambers in Lincoln's Inn to live on the same staircase as William Pitt. He figures frequently in Thomas Raikes' Journal and died Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being buried in the Rolls Chapel. He was like the present Lord Chief Justice of England and Lord Bradbury educated at Manchester Grammar School and was there for 11 years. In 1759 the elder boys acted Addison's tragedy of "Cato" and it is remarkable that of the ten scholars one became L. C. J. (Arden), one Vice Principal of B. N. C. (Rev. James Heap), two Archdeacons of Richmond (Travis and Bower), one Senior Wrangler (William Arnold, 1766) and one Recorder of Chester (Foster Bower). Arden was himself Twelfth Wrangler in 1766 and the Second Wrangler of that year,

The Laws, Bishop Law, always remembered with bitterness the defeat he sustained from a 'Manchester School' boy. Edmund Law his father (1702-1787) was Bishop of Carlisle, and he himself Bishop of Bath and Wells. His younger brother Edward Law, born in 1750, the fourth son of Bishop Edmund, was Captain of Charterhouse and in 1771 Third Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Prizeman. Warren Hastings was recommended by Sir Thomas Rumbold to engage Law, who was his brother-in-law, to defend him at his Trial (1788-1795) and Law who had been only called to the Bar in 1780, acquitted himself with such ability that he obtained a large increase of practice. He became M. P. for Newtown, Isle of Wight, and in 1802 was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench and raised to the peerage as Baron Ellenborough of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland. He died Dec. 13 1818, leaving a fortune of £240,000 and was buried by his own request at the Charterhouse, near the grave of Thomas Sutton, the founder (1532-1611). His eldest son Edward was appointed Governor General of India in 1841, and for his services was created in 1844 Earl of Ellenborough and Viscount Southam.

CONCERNING Beer, Captain Thomas Williamson Author of the "Wild Sports of the East" writes in Vol. II of the East India Vade-Mecum (1810). "Porter, pale-ale and table-beer of great strength are often drank after meals; all these are found in the utmost perfection; for indifferent malt-liquors

Captain William-
son's Vade-Mecum
on Beer.

do not stand the voyage; and even should they arrive in a sound state, would meet no sale. A temporary beverage, suited to the very hot weather, and called "country-beer", is in rather general use, though water, artificially cooled, is commonly drank during the repasts; in truth, nothing can be more gratifying at such a time, but especially after eating curry. Country-beer is made of about one-fifth part porter, or beer, with a wine glass full

His recipe for making "Country-beer, especially gratifying after curry." of toddy (or palm-wine, which is the general substitute for yeast), a small quantity of brown sugar, and a little grated ginger, or the dried peel of Seville oranges, or of limes; which are a small kind of lemon, abounding in citric acid, and to be had very cheap". In an advertisement of Messrs. Davidson and Wilson on Sept. 24, 1801, seven kinds of malt liquor are named; pale ale, small beer, brilliant beer, strong porter, light porter, brown stout. Sophia Goldborne talks in Hartly House of "small-beer, perry, and cyder, from my native country; and fine spruce-beer, the produce of Bengal".

BUT Tea and Tea-Clubs ran Bear close at a later date, judging from a waggish correspondent in the Government Gazette for April 15, 1819.

"Calcutta is likely to be more distinguished for its Clubs than its Masonic Institutions. The Tea Club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea. Several supplementary regulations have been adopted and among

"The Tea Club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea."

them the most judicious is that the member who slops the table or spilleth hot beverage in his neighbour's lap shall forfeit two annas. Another Club has been started under the mysterious denomination of *Obscure*, and as the *Lunatics*

meet at the full of the moon, it is probable that the *Obscures* will meet at the *change*, contented to remain in a sort of eclipse." Sophia Goldborne gives a curious side-light on the habits of tea-drinkers of her time in England (1789) which happily was not followed in Bengal. "I drank my tea," she says

The "exchanges" (a most alarming and disgusting idea).

with a degree of satisfaction unknown in England in large companies: for, Arabella, instead of the *exchanges* (a most alarming and disgusting idea) to which you are there exposed, it is the delightful and sensible custom at Calcutta,

for a bearer to convey your cup, when empty, to the consumer, without once letting it go out of his hand; and of course returns it to you secure from every possibility of contamination. I think I was never so pleased with any one article of polite etiquette in my whole life."

From an old number of the *Pioneer* we extract the following gem.

"AMONG the effects of Messrs. Streeter and Co., Limited, which were to be sold by Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods on the 22nd February (1909), was the famous Agra diamond, itself sufficient to give the sale a unique interest. This

The Agra Diamond "swallowed by a horse in 1857."

diamond derives its name from the fact that it was taken on the battle of Agra in 1526 by the Emperor Baber, who was the founder of the Mogul Empire in India. The modern history of the diamond was

told to Mr. Streeter in the summer of 1896 by the Marquis of Donegal, and it is as follows. The Marquis remarked that he was in Agra in 1857 when the diamond was taken from the King of Delhi, being at the time engaged as secretary and belonging to the same regiment as the young officer who obtained possession of the diamond. It was resolved amongst them to smuggle it home to England rather than give it up and share in the loot money. The question arose, how were they to get it home? No one seemed to be able to hit upon a method that would be likely to meet with success until the last evening previous to the departure of the regiment. During the course of dinner the youngest subaltern suddenly jumped up and said, "I have it; we will conceal the diamond in a horse ball and make the horse swallow it." This met with general approbation, a ball was secured, the inside scooped out, the diamond inserted, and end stopped up, and the horse made to swallow it. When the regiment reached the port for embarkation the horse was taken ill, and had to be shot. The diamond was taken from his stomach and brought over to England. It was subsequently sold to the Duke of Brunswick, and since then it has been recut from a 46 carats stone to a $31\frac{1}{2}$ carats in order to get rid of the black spots in it, and it is now the most perfect and brilliant diamond of a lovely rose pink colour."

"THE year 1815 had been a death dealing one to the Thackerays in Bengal. It opened with the news that the younger brother of Richmond Thackeray was fallen in a desperate fight in Nepal. On August 14 Richmond headed the funeral procession of his cousin Henry to the military burial-ground in the southern suburb of Calcutta. And now within a month, on September 13, Richmond was himself carried forth for burial." So writes Sir William Hunter, and the passage (with more) is quoted in the preface to "the Ritchies in India" (1920) with the comment "Rigorous accuracy is one of Sir William's characteristics."

Hunter's "The Thackerays in India" (1897) and Anno Domini 1815.

BUT Hunter, though an admirable writer, did not always trouble to verify his references. In this case he went no further than the Bengal obituary (1848), which gives the year of Henry Thackeray's death as 1815 and mis-spells the name Thackeray. Had he cared to visit the Bhowanipore Cemetery, he would have found the date to be 1813; and it is correctly recorded in Mr. C. R. Wilson's List of Tombs for Bengal as well as in the chapter on the Calcutta Cemeteries, contributed by ourselves to Sir Evan Cotton's "Calcutta Old and New" (1907). The passage is worth recalling.

Henry cousin of Richmond Thackeray, obit 1813 and not 1815.

"BUT the sun is now high in the heavens. Let us leave the dwellers in these sad settlements along Park Street and Circular Road to their daily spell of silence and repose. Another day we will wend to the old Military Cemetery at Bhowanipore (opened in 1782) and stand before the grave of Henry W. M. Thackeray, Surgeon of the Bengal Artillery (1813) whose tomb was a tribute of gratitude from the pupil to the master. He sleeps there in strange company with Captain Donald Macintyre (1809), a native of Lochawside, Argyleshire "and late of the Mahratta service"; with the child of Mrs. Esther Leach (1828) a serjeant's wife, who was the greatest Calcutta actress of her day; with Eliza Bellamy, aged 74 (1844), "who followed for 34 years the profession of midwife in India", and at the other end of the scale Dr. Henry Harpur Spry, (1842) Fellow of the Royal Society".

THE inscription too would have appealed to Hunter. It runs "H. W. M. Thackeray, Surgeon, Bengal Artily, Act 45, Ob 14th Aug. 1813. When living I was thy pupil and thou my friend, To me those happy days have long, long since had an end. This is a tribute of gratitude from the pupil to the memory of his master." We would give a great deal to know the name of that grateful pupil.

In a Review of Mr. F. H. Skrine's *Life of Sir William Hunter* (Longmans) which appeared in the *Standard* for Nov. 20, 1901 are the following stories." "The anecdotes which enliven the biography are not always to be trusted. For instance, it is related that Lord Lytton being asked by a pretty Mrs. Birch whether he remembered no one of her name at Eton, replied that he did, but that his recollections of it were the reverse of pleasant. When the lady took him to task for speaking disrespectfully of her husband's family, His Excellency declared himself ready, we are told, to make amends, adding, "I have never felt so much inclined to kiss the rod as now." Lord Lytton, as it happens, was not at Eton but at Harrow; and what he said to the lady is incorrectly reported. Mr. Skrine, by-the-bye, omits to record an equally amusing and perhaps more authentic story about Sir W. Hunter. When collecting material for his Dictionary of Non-Aryan languages, Sir William, being in quest of a Sonthal equivalent for the verb "to strike" endeavoured to obtain it by asking a native policeman.

An apocryphal story of Lord Lytton and Mrs. Birch.

Sir William Hunter's resource. The Sonthal word for "strike" in his Dictionary.

Raising his stick, and assuming an attitude of fearful menace, he desired the trembling guardian of the peace to tell him what that meant in the Sonthal dialect. The literal translation of the reply given is 'a dead policeman', but it is entered in the Dictionary as the vernacular for 'to strike'. Years hence, no doubt, this little misunderstanding will suggest to some future Max Muller quite a new theory on the morphology of non-Aryan languages."

THE ubiquitous Hickey (Vol. iv, p. 22) writes that the death of Mr. Thomas Davies (1792), the Advocate General who stayed in Bengal another season to accumulate money, thereby sacrificing his life "brought to my recollection an epitaph I had formerly read upon the tomb-stone of a Dutch gentleman at Sadras on the coast of Coromandel:

Mynheer Gludenstack lies interred here

Who intended to have gone home next year".

The only tomb-stone at Sadras which at all approximates to this description is that of Gustavus Gouds, boekhouder and Secunde desen Comptoire Sadraspatnam, originally not a Mynheer at all but born at Rofors in Zweeden Dec. 2, 1690, who died here December 22, Ao 1737, aged 47 years and 20 days. The tomb is of immense size, and the slab covering the grave bears a coat of arms not enclosed in any border, and below it these words. "Als de doode rust, soo laat ook zyne gedagtenisse rusten. Jesu Sirach 38, 24." The Song of the Son of Sirach is our Ecclesiasticus and in the Apocrypha, chapter 38 verse 23 (not 24) the verse reads "when the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest." Then follow these lines, to which doubtless Hickey refers;

"Dies Zark Bedekt een Man
Die na Verlossing Haakte
Om Naar het Vaderland
Te Keeren, Maar de Dood
Sneed af Zyn Leven's Draad,
Soo Dat hy Hier Geraakte
In't Graf ter Zalige Rust.
De Ziel in Abram's Schoot
Geniet in Heerlykheyd
Verzadigd Door Aanschouwen,
Het Eeuwig Heyl, dat Wy
Verwagten en Vertrouwen."

Reduced to English, their literal meaning is, "This slab covers a man who longed after deliverance to return to his fatherland: but Death snipped the thread of his life, so that he got here into the grave in blessed rest. He possesses his soul in Abraham's bosom in glory, satisfied through beholding the eternal bliss that we await and trust in". The curious will find a facsimile of this inscription in Mr. Alex. Rea's *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company* (1897) where it is Plate No. LI. Even the *Hollanders* did not always verify their references, for the dates of birth and death are both given on the stone as 22, whereas the day of birth was 2nd.

Hickey and the
tomb-stone of Myn-
heer Gludenstack.

Gustavus Gouds
tomb stone at
Sadras.

Gustavus Goud's
Epitaph at Sadras.

SADRAS is situated on the seashore in the Chingleput district 45 miles south of Madras. It is mentioned in "A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters being Nine Years Travels, Begun 1672, Finished 1681, by John Fryer M. D. Cantabrig and Fellow of the Royal Society." At page 24 of the 1698 Edition he writes, "Nearer this point we descried a Town, in which a castle overhanging it, and upon the highest Pinacle Dutch Colours, which high Noon gave us to be Sandrastapatan, a Factory of theirs, 10 Leagues to the South of Fort St. George, whose Soil is Fat and Opulent, like their Netherlands." Then follows "The View of Sandrastapatan" which is called in the margin "Sandrastapatan on the Main". "The Water here ran smooth and discoloured: till once again Committing ourselves to the Sea, we ploughed deeper Water, North-East, of a Caerulean dye". In the Index Explanatory under Names of Things we find the Dutch word Snee which occurs on Goud's tombstone in the expression "Snickersnee, Dutch Duelling", a quotation which we feel sure has escaped the Editors of the New English Dictionary.

JOHAN COMPANY was long known as the most generous of masters; and the author of the Competition Wallah never tires of extolling the stupendous hospitality of India. A good example of the spirit which pervaded the community a century ago is shown by the following. "At a meeting of the Bobbery Hunt on Sunday last (October 21, 1810) the subscription for the orphan children of that most respected and lamented officer, the late Major Samuel Carter, was introduced, when with a liberality which reflects the highest honour on the members of that society and which is indeed above all praise, upwards of 10,000 rupees were contributed." This was in Western India, Major Carter being an officer of the Bombay Artillery, Cadet 1782 and Major 1808, who died September 11, 1810. There was another Samuel Carter who entered the Bengal army as a Cadet the same year, 1810, but died while still an Ensign in the 30th N.I. at Khoordah Dec. 27, 1817.

MR. SAMUEL MONTAGU has many titles to fame, but it is not generally known that when an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, he edited the *Granta*. He began his Editorship in the summer of 1900, working the first term in conjunction with Oliver Locker-Lampson of the same College, afterwards President of the A.D.C. Even in those days the spirit of reform was rampant, for the old familiar cover of the *Granta* was discarded and a new one designed (which is still used every week) by Seymour Lucas, son of the Royal Academician. A special May Week Number was produced and constituted one of the most ambitious on record, including contributions from Andrew Lang, Austin Dobson, Seymour Lucas, A. C. Benson, Edmond Gosse, Henry Newbolt and Kate Greenaway: but the credit of this number is really due to

Fryer's Account of
"Sandrastapatan
on the Main."

"Snickersnee,
Dutch Duelling."

A Hunt "Cap"
for Major Carter's
orphan children.

Mr. E. S. Montagu
as Editor of the
Granta, 1900-1.

Reforms the
Cover.

Locker-Lampson, whose brother Godfrey wrote the preface, using the longest words he could find. In Michaelmas 1900, Montagu took over the *Granta* completely. He was later on President of the Union and his contemporaries relate that during his term of Office he had a flag flown from the Union while he was in residence. Concerning which Frank Sidgwick (son of Arthur Sidgwick, for many years Fellow and Tutor of C. C. C. Oxford, and beloved by the whole college, by none more so than myself who lived in Ruskin's old rooms, next to his, in the Fellows' Buildings) wrote in the *Granta*, Oct. 25, 1902, under the pseudonym of Sigma Minor.

Flies a Flag as
President of the
Cambridge Union.

"But while here he is residing
In his rooms, the fountain fronting,
Learn the fact from me, confiding
In a simple piece of bunting.
Fear no more, nor sigh, nor chase,
Now ye know when ye are safe."

Montagu had the good fortune in the Lent term of 1901 (when he was ^{Publishes the} not up, J. C. Stobart of Harrow and Trinity being Joint-300th Number. Editor) of publishing during his Editorship the 300th number of the *Granta* (Feb. 4, 1901) an event which inspired a poem by R. C. Lehmann, written as prose, under the title "To *Granta*, Aged 300 Numbers." Montagu's own efforts seem to have more editorial than journalistic, for no specimen of his literary work is quoted in the *Anthology of the Granta (1889-1914)*, in Mr. F. A. Rice's *Book on the Granta and Its Contributors* (Constable 1924) to whom we tender our grateful acknowledgments for the above tid-bits.

WE may be pardoned for concluding upon a familiar note. "During the work on the improvement scheme at the East India Dock (in 1914) the original foundation-stone of the undertaking which was laid on the 4th March 1804, was brought to light. The stone was found when the water was pumped out of the import dock, it being revealed at the base of one of the old quay walls from which it slightly projected. On the top of the stone are recorded the names of Mr. Joseph Cotton, then Chairman of the East India Dock Company, and Mr. John Woolmore, Deputy Chairman. The inscription on the front states that the stone was laid by Mr. Joseph Huddart F.R.S., on the date given, and the names of the engineers, Mr. John Rennie and Mr. Ralph Walker, are added. The stone is in excellent preservation. The East India Dock Company was a subsidiary Company of the famous East India Company, and the dock was originally made for its vessels trading to the East." The Mr. Joseph Cotton (1745-1825) so recorded was our great-great-grandfather. He was F.R.S., Director of the London Assurance, Elder Brother and in 1803 Deputy Master of the Trinity House of which he wrote a Memoir, Director of the East India Company from 1795 to 1823, Chairman

The Foundation
stone of the East
India Dock.

Its Chairman Mr.
Joseph Cotton,
F.R.S.

of the Copper Company and also of the East India Dock Company. Cotton's Wharf, Cotton's Yard, and Cotton Street, East India Dock Road Poplar perpetuate his memory.

J. J. COTTON.

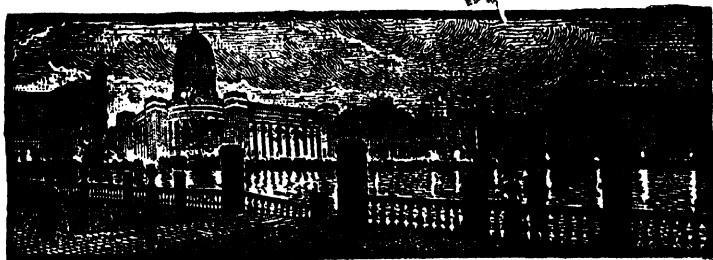
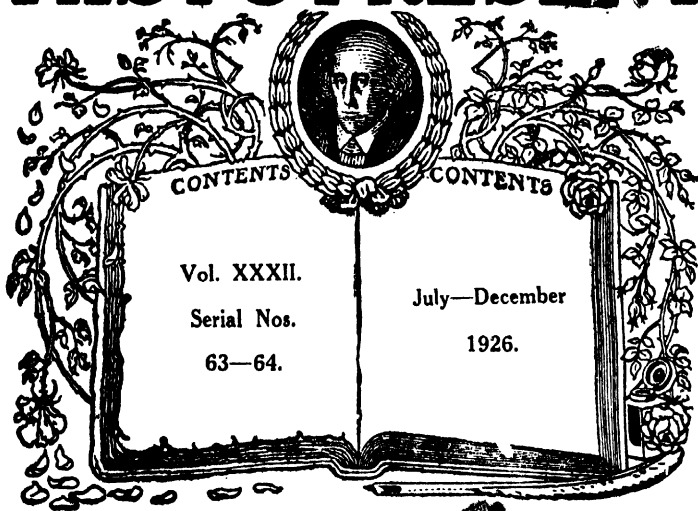
ADDENDA.

The account of " Our journey to Patna " by Ensign Mackay (published in Vol. XXXI, Pt. II of *Bengal : Past and Present*) was taken from the journal of Archibald Swinton and so far as is known, it has not appeared in print before.

Our readers will be interested to know that the Rev. W. K. Firminger has been recently appointed Chaplain of Hampton Court Palace.



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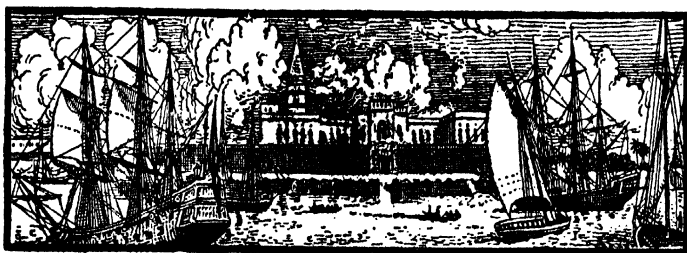
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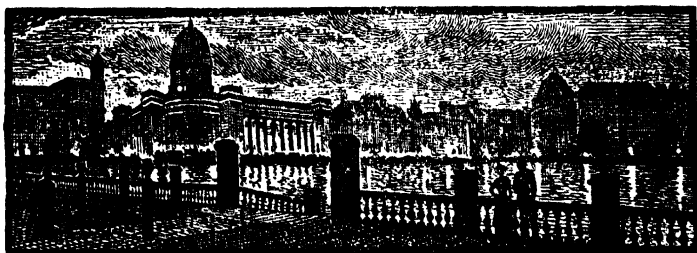
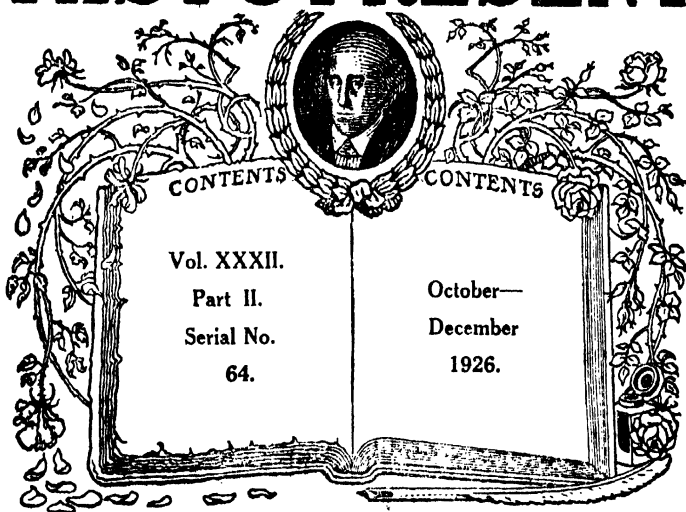
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WILLIAM HICKEY WITH HIS FAVOURITE SERVANT
MUNNOO AND HIS DOG.

From an Engraving in the possession of Mr. Alfred Spencer of the
Portrait by William Thomas exhibited at Royal Academy in 1820.

A Portrait of William Hickey.

IN the preface of the fourth volume of the Memoir's of William Hickey, mention is made by the editor, Mr. Alfred Spencer, of a painting by William Thomas, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820 under the title of "William Hickey, his favorite black servant and his dog." The picture has not been traced but Mr. Spencer has lately been fortunate enough to acquire a coloured engraving of it, made by the artist, and inscribed "William Hickey, Esq." Of that engraving we are enabled, by the courtesy of Mr. Spencer, to present a reproduction on the opposite page. It was published in *The Graphic* of July 10, 1926: and we are indebted also to the proprietors of that newspaper for permission to use their block.

Hickey is wearing a brown coat: and his hair is of a rich dark brown colour, which in view of his age, suggests a wig. He is sitting on what is evidently his study chair which is upholstered in dark red leather. The coat of the Indian servant is dark blue: his gold fob will be noticed. The figure of the Airedale terrier is full of life: and the whole tone of the picture is most pleasing.

The discovery of this engraving is a matter of more than ordinary interest. No one was more addicted to sitting for his portrait than William Hickey: and yet every one of them has disappeared. In the second volume of his Memoirs Hickey tells us of four. A young Jewess named Martha Isaacs who came to Calcutta during the period of Hickey's earlier residence to practise her profession and there married in 1779 a senior civilian of the name of Alexander Higginson, painted a miniature which he sent to his favourite sister in England. Thomas Hickey, his namesake, painted him twice at Lisbon where he was detained from February to June 1782 when on his way to India with Charlotte Barry. One of these went to William Hickey's sister in London and the other remained with "Mrs. Hickey," who presumably took it with her to Calcutta. When Thomas Hickey came to Calcutta from Madras in 1784, he painted another portrait of William which was full-length and declared to be an excellent likeness (1). Thomas Hickey also painted two portraits of Charlotte, the first at Lisbon, and the second at Calcutta after her death which took place on December 25, 1783.

A fifth portrait is mentioned in the fourth volume of the Memoirs. This was painted by George Chinnery and presented by Hickey to Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice, whose clerk he was. "A very capital likeness he produced, which now occupies a corner in Sir Henry Russell's dining room in the Court House of Calcutta.

(1) There is just a possibility Mr. Spencer thinks that the portrait in the National Gallery at Dublin, which was reproduced in the second volume of the Memoirs as one of Joseph Hickey, the father, by Angelica Kauffmann, is in reality one of these portraits of William by Thomas Hickey. There is certainly a marked resemblance about the mouth.

All these have eluded discovery: and it is noteworthy (but not unnatural, inasmuch as he had then completed his Memoirs) that the picture by Thomas, of which the engraving has come to light, is the one to which Hickey makes no reference. But it is known that Thomas lived at Beaconsfield, and it was at Little Hall Barn, Beaconsfield, that Hickey took up his residence upon his arrival from Calcutta in 1809. The date of Hickey's death is uncertain, but he is believed to be the subject of an entry in the old Register of Burials in St. Pancras Churchyard which records the interment on May 31, 1830, of William Hickey, of little King Street, Camden town, aged seventy. He must then have been living in lodgings, for Mr. Spencer has ascertained that his name does not appear in the St. Pancras rate-books as a house holder. The age should be eighty and not seventy: but this need not operate as an obstacle to identification, for the old burial registers were carelessly kept and we know that both his sisters Sarah (December 13, 1824, aged 67) and Ann (November 30, 1826, aged 70) were buried in St. Pancras Churchyard.

It is to be hoped that the glimpse which we are now able to give of the appearance of William Hickey, may lead to the discovery in Calcutta of one or more of the missing portraits.

The "favourite black servant" who is represented in Thomas's picture was named Munnoo. He accompanied his master to England and was baptized on February 27, 1809, in the parish church of Beaconsfield with the name of William Munnew, being described in the certificate as a native of Madras.

Mr. Spencer, we may add, has presented to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, a photograph of the engraving and also a facsimile of a sentence from the manuscript of the Memoirs.

EVAN COTTON.

Poplar Chapel.

AT the beginning of the seventeenth century Poplar was a sparsely populated district of small importance, owing its existence mainly to its being the approach to Blackwall Stairs on the Thames, much used as a means of avoiding the detour round the Isle of Dogs. With the foundation by the East India Company in 1614 of a dock at Blackwall there came a change. Several hundreds of men were employed in the dockyard; sailors began to throng the streets; and tradesmen were quickly attracted. As the population of the district grew, a desire arose for the provision of a place of worship, the Parish Church at Stepney being at an inconvenient distance. In May 1642 the inhabitants of Poplar and Blackwall petitioned the East India Company to grant them, in the grounds of the Company's almshouse there, sites for a chapel, a burying ground, and a Minister's house; and, with the consent of the general body of shareholders, half an acre was assigned for that purpose, together with a quantity of stone for building. The times, however, were not propitious for the collection of subscriptions, and it was not until 1654 that the chapel was completed and opened. It is said to have cost over £2,000, towards which the Company in 1652 made a contribution of £200.

There still remained the question of how to find the salary of a Minister; but this was solved by utilizing the services of the chaplain of the Company's almshouse hard by. For his ministrations to almsmen he was paid £20 a year by the Company, who also provided him with a house and garden; the chapel brought him at least the fees for weddings and interments; and so the income became sufficient for a frugal man to live upon. This arrangement had its drawbacks. From time to time disputes arose between the Company and the inhabitants as to the right of presentation, the former jealousy reserving its freedom to choose anyone it pleased for the post of Chaplain, the latter grumbling that they ought to have a voice in the choice of their Minister, especially as they had to maintain the building. The ecclesiastical authorities took a hand in the disputes. The Chapel had never been consecrated, and an essential preliminary was declared to be the provision of a settled maintenance for the Minister. Endeavours were made to induce the Company to provide this; but the Directors steadily refused to go beyond the existing arrangement. A similar fate attended the efforts made in the early part of the eighteenth century to constitute Poplar a distinct Parish, with the Chapel as the Parish Church. So the building remained an unconsecrated place of worship, served by the almshouse chaplain, and generally regarded as the property of the East India Company. The salary of the Chaplain was gradually raised to £500 a year, and a house was built for him by the Company in 1802. In 1817 Poplar was at last made into a separate parish and a special church (All Saints) was built as its ecclesiastical centre. The Company's Chapel remained in its former ambiguous position, partly a church for the neighbourhood, partly a chapel for the almsmen.

The transfer of the East India Company's property to the Crown in 1858 resulted, eight years later, in the dissolution of the Poplar almshouses and the sale of the site. The Chapel was handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who made it into the Church of a new district of St. Matthias, Poplar. The exterior of the building was cased in stone, and the interior modernised; and later on a chancel was added. It still, however, preserves enough of the old features to make it interesting. In the centre of the ceiling of the nave is a covered boss, bearing the arms of the old East India Company, painted in their proper colours. The massive oak columns supporting the roof were probably ships' masts originally though the local tradition that they came from the Spanish Armada is obviously false. There are a number of interesting monuments, including one to Robert Ainsworth, (author of a well-known Latin dictionary), another to Philip Worth (a Captain in the Company's service, who died in 1743), and a bas-relief by Flaxman to the memory of George Steevens, the Shakespeare commentator, whose father was Commander of an East Indiaman and afterwards a Director of the Company.

Some havoc has been wrought among the tombs in the churchyard by its transformation into a recreation ground; but some handsome ones are yet in position, though the inscriptions are rapidly becoming illegible. The ground remains unconsecrated; but the invisible hand of the East India Company is still stretched over it. Many of its sailors and commanders settled in old age in Poplar, which was then semi-rural and even semi-nautical; and their dust rests in the old churchyard, mingled with that of their neighbours and friends, the tradespeople and dock officials.

WILLIAM FOSTER.



MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER-LAWRENCE.

By the courtesy of Mr. Hamilton, Curator, Victoria Memorial.

Engraved by Sir John Reynolds.

Major-General Stringer-Lawrence,

WE reproduce, by the courtesy of Mr. Harrington, Curator of the Victoria Memorial, a picture of Major-General Stringer Lawrence painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds and bought by the late Lord Curzon from the sale of Mrs. W. H. Palk's effects in London in 1913.

Mrs. Palk was the widow of the great-grandson of Sir Robert Palk by whom the picture was commissioned, and for whom it was painted. Sir Robert Palk was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1763—1767 at the time when General Lawrence was Commander-in-Chief in the Madras Presidency.

Sir Evan Cotton, in "Bengal: Past and Present," (No. XXX, p. 211) has written a very informing note on the three portraits which Gainsborough painted of this fine old soldier. That reproduced here is the second portrait, and represents him mellow with duty done, '*mens sibi conscia recti*'; but most people will prefer the first picture reproduced in Colonel Biddulph's little book, which represents more truly the man who saved the Madras Presidency for Great Britain, and who was the father of the Indian Army.

In this he is represented with feet apart, his right hand resting on a walking cane, his left hand grasping the hilt of his sword. He is shown to be a man of burly frame and some corpulence, but his florid face is that of a singularly resolute man, with the calm unblending gaze of a man who has known anxiety but not fear, and who might be broken but could never be bent. General Lawrence has left few records behind him of his family or his service previous to his arrival in India. He was a Captain in the 14th Regiment of Foot, now the West Yorkshire Regiment, and he was selected in 1746 to command the Garrison at Fort St. George. He must have left the King's Service at this date. He landed in India in 1748. Full details of his Indian service and achievements are easily available, but he will always be remembered as the man who trained Lord Clive, and for whom Lord Clive had the greatest affection and respect.

General Lawrence left India in 1766, and died in London in 1775: he is buried near Exeter, at Dunchidrock, and his friend Sir Robert Palk erected a monument to him.

He is essentially one of England's "worthies,"

"Who bore the heat, and toil, and blows of many a hopeless fray;

Who served uncheered by rank and fame, unbought by place or pay."

Other Generals have been more brilliant, and better known, but no man more completely came up to Cromwell's ideal soldier, "the man who knows what he is fighting for, and loves what he knows."

Armenian Journalism in India.

IT may not be generally known that the Armenians have from time immemorial been connected with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins, and precious stones, which they carried on with Europe by the overland route, through Afghanistan, Persia and Armenia, via Trebizond, long before the advent of any European traders into this country. But the Armenian colonists in India, with the inherent energy and intelligence of an ancient civilized race, evinced, apart from their commercial pursuits, considerable interest in politics and literature and being proud and zealous of their rich national literature which can vie with that of ancient Rome and Greece, they started printing presses for publishing the works of ancient Armenian writers and translators for which there were a great demand amongst the Armenians in India and the Far East. And not content with the publications of books only, they entered the field of journalism and they can justly claim the honour of being the Founders of Armenian journalism.

An enthusiastic Armenian priest of Madras, Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon, a native of Shiraz in Persia, conceived the happy idea of starting a journal for the Armenian colonists in India and the Far East, and, with commendable zeal, he laid the foundation of Armenian journalism in July, 1794, with a modest list of 28 subscribers only and without any paid advertisements which form the backbone of modern journalism.

His "Azdarar", or "Intelligencer", was a monthly magazine devoted to social, political, literary and commercial information, in which "Answers to Correspondents", "Domestic Occurrences", "Reviews of Books", "Commercial and Shipping Advertisements", found a place, as in present-day journals. But the curious part of the venture was that the founder of the *first* Armenian journal, in addition to his sacerdotal duties, was the editor, the publisher, the compositor the distributor and the printer of his paper and even the paper used in printing the "Azdarar" was manufactured by him by the primitive method in vogue then for making hand-made paper from cotton pulp. A truly journalistic feat indeed never attempted by any journalist in the history of journalism. For whereas in these days of Rotary presses and time saving Linotype machines, journalism is a real pleasure, it was nothing but a self-imposed task and purely a labour of love in the days when the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon of Madras published his "Intelligencer" in 1794.

With such a humble beginning, Armenian journalism has during the past 132 years spread all over the civilized world, and to-day there are over a hundred journals and magazines published in all the large cities and capitals of Europe, Asia, Africa and America where Armenians are found

ԱՌԴԱՐԱՐ 1854

ԽՒՐԱՅ ԱՄՍՈՑ

1794

Բարեպաշտ Պարոնայ և
Մաքրակենցալ Տիկնայ } Մարգարապետ Հայոց:

Կոտե լով իմով և թէ զոմնոյ տալ Դապարանին՝ և Եթէ
այդ արեւելեան յառաջ և կեանքու առաջադրանք, յարմար փար-
սէ կայ նաեւ երեւոյն առաջի ձեռքու մէջ ազգ տախտու և զխոյնունս
նախոյ երեւոյն, զտաղիցմամբն ի յայտ ածել զտեւրեւ մի յառու մի ընդ
ամայ, տնո՛ւ անեւել և զգարարաց, յորմէ իմացուն ինն լոցէ ըն-
թէ և բոլորայ, ծայրաքաղ անցքն նայնոյ ամայ, և թէ ի փոմազան կա-
ղ թմայ, և թէ ի փոմազան քարակոյտ, և Եթէ այլոց զանազան
գլխոյ, նաեւ քանի: Տարիս որք և քաղցրալու ըր, և ի վերջնունս
տեւրակին, զորացցց մի հե տեւել ամայ, պարտուելի ալ ի նման
չտնաւ արքայ, և զառուս ծննդ ետեւ և լլման լուսնոյ և այլն:

Արդ

Երդ՝ և թէ վաւարման որք Եւ տեւրակին և Եթէ վա-
ւարմանունս Դապարանին և կամ Եթէ վաւարման ընդ քաղաք-
խաւս զառուս քաղաք Դապարանին զգլխն ի շէն և տեւրակին՝ մի
հուս: Տառաւանգի, վաւարայ և թէ զանրազն որք զտնեւ զ լլ-
չեւալ և տեւրակին, տարազնեւել փոմազան ի ըր ի նոյն բոլոր թղթմ-
քանուկութի տեւրակին, և թէ վաւար և Եթէ վաւար քարակա-
մայ լլւրոյ, զն և թէ քաւ ետի ծախան առաջիկոյ զորոյս, առա-
ջայտնան լոցն մի և մի զմանազոյութի:

Իրեւն ուր է իր միջոց հե տեւրակին և Եթէ ազգ ի տեւ-
րակին, տեւրակին և ի յայտ գործաւ ողնական ինն լոցն ընդ, առ
Ի երբանուկութի և զարգեւ լլւրոյ և մի թմարութի և:

Մարգարապետ } և Եւսէ 1794: Չորոց տնեւախոյս
Ի Լամար ամայ 20 } ՏԵՄԵՐԱԿԻ Եւսէ Եւսէ Եւսէ

Չեւանգ բոգո թղթոյ 28 հոգիք:



The above is the *Imamdar's* Notice announcing his intention to start an Armenian Journal in Madras.

The block below the *Imamdar's* represents the Coat-of-Arms of the old Armenia Kings of the four different dynasties that ruled in Ancient Armenia for a period of fully 3,500 years commencing from 2111 B.C. and ending in 1394 A.D. A brilliant record indeed.

in large numbers, but by an irony of fate, India, that gave birth to Armenian journalism, does not possess a single paper to-day in the Armenian language.

The Venerable Father of Armenian journalism, who was the Vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras, died at the age of 74 on the 9th day of February, 1824, (1) and his revered grave is to be seen to this day at the Armenian Church (in Armenian Street) at Madras, with an inscription in classical Armenian. Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may the journalism, which he founded, continue to flourish for the intellectual advancement of a much-persecuted nation, which, in the words of Byron "has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former or the servility of the latter".

The life of the first Armenian journal was however a short one, as it lasted for two years and a half only and died a premature death for want of sufficient support, which has been the bane of Armenian journalism ever since its foundation in 1794.

From 1796, when the "Azdarar" was laid to rest at Madras, until 1820, the Armenians in India made no efforts to revive their national journalism, but in 1820, two journals appeared at Bombay and Calcutta simultaneously, but they too shared the fate of their predecessor and they both died within a year.

In 1821, another journal was started in Calcutta but it did not live more than two years. The only journal that enjoyed a fairly long life, was the "Azgasare" (The Patriot) of Calcutta which was ably edited by that profound scholar, poet and educationist, Mesroby David Thaliatian, than whom a greater Armenian scholar has not been seen in India to this day. But the same fatality—want of sufficient support—sealed the fate of the "Azgasare" in 1852, after an existence of seven years under great difficulties and privations.

Madras tried to revive the "Azdarar" in 1846, but without success, as it did not last a year even. Another attempt was made by Madras in 1848 to resuscitate Armenian journalism but it shared the sad fate of its predecessors.

Nothing daunted, Calcutta vainly attempted in 1862 to retrieve the fortunes of the moribund National journalism, but it came to a sudden and dramatic end in 1863 by the conviction of the editor for libel with a fine of Rs. 500 and a residence of 3 months in the house of correction.

From 1794-1863, some 11 journals were published at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, all in the Armenian language, the first five being printed,

(1) In response to an appeal by the writer of these lines, which was published in all the leading Armenian newspapers and literary magazines, the centenary of the death of the Father of Armenian Journalism was celebrated on the 9th day of February 1924, at all the Armenian centres in Europe, America, Asia and in the Republic of Armenia. And at the Armenian Church of St. Mary at Madras, a requiem service was held over the venerated grave of the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon at the request of the present writer who had a wreath placed over the grave of the immortal Founder of Armenian Journalism and "In Memoriam" Notices with biographical sketches, published in the "Madras Times" and in the Calcutta "Englishman" and the "Statesman" as a small tribute to his memory.

whilst the remaining six were lithographed. But with the single exception of Mesroby Thaliatin's "Azgasare" (1845-1852) all the others lacked literary merit and the reason is not far to seek, as all the other Editors, with the exception of the Founder (Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon) were men of business and had no literary attainments or any pretensions to scholarship; nevertheless, they deserve great credit and praise, their shortcomings notwithstanding, for having zealously kept the torch of Armenian journalism flickering for 70 years under great difficulties.

Before concluding this article, I must not omit to mention the journal "Ara" in English, devoted to Armenian politics, literature and history which was ably edited by the late Mr. J. D. Melik-Beglar, from 1892-1895 and the "Armenian" of the late Mr. J. Barseghian, who likewise published his journal in English from 1908-1909, and with the death of the "Armenian" which by an irony of fate happened to be the 13th in the list of Armenian journals in India—that unlucky No. 13, Armenian journalism, after a miserable existence of 115 years in this country, died a natural death with the consolation however that it had laid the foundation of the National Press which has achieved great success in Europe and elsewhere where Armenians are found in large numbers.

It is a crying shame, however, that a wealthy and an advanced community like the Armenians, should not have an organ for the ventilation and the furtherance of communal grievances and affairs in these days of stress and strain when events are moving very fast in the kaleidoscope of India, where the political existence of small communities is in the balance with "India for the Indians" writ large above.

The following is a translation of the Notice or Advertisement of the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon addressed to the pious and patriotic Armenian ladies and gentlemen of Madras, announcing his intention of publishing a *Monthly Magazine in the Armenian language at Madras*, if sufficient support would be forthcoming however.

A facsimile of this Advertisement which appears in the beginning of the first issue of the now exceedingly rare "Azdarar" (2) is specially prepared for this article in view of its unique interest and great value as the first Armenian Journal in the World." This is shown at page.....of the present Number of "Bengal—Past and Present".

AZDARAR.

For the Month of Thira, 1794.

To

The Pious Armenian gentlemen and the chaste ladies of Madras.

(2) There are only two complete copies of the "Azdarar" extant at the present day, one being in the famous national Library at Etchmiatzin the Armenian Vatican—near Erivan, the Capital of the Republic of Armenia, and the other in the private library of the present writer. There is also a copy, but incomplete, in the otherwise very rich library of the Mekhitharist Fathers at Vienna who possess by far the best and the most complete collection of Armenian Journals in the world from 1794 up to the present day.

" Having considered the benefit that the press would derive and seeing the good progress of the studious (amongst us) I deemed it necessary to place before your patriotism my present intentions, that is, to print a pamphlet at the end of every month, to be called the "Intelligencer", from which the readers will be able to know the principal events of the month, taken either from different gazettes or from different books, as also important subjects and pleasant news; and at the end of the pamphlet there will be a calendar for the month following, containing the festivals of Saints and the dates of the new and the full moon, etc.

Now either for the worthiness of my project or for the benefit of the press and the encouragement of the hard-worked pressmen, I have fixed the price of the said pamphlet at one Hoon (3) therefore, if anybody wishes to get the aforesaid pamphlet, let him subscribe his name below this paper, with the number of copies required, either for himself or for his friends, and if there be sufficient to defray the cost of the present work, I shall then, with the help of God proceed with every effort.

As you have always been the followers of the glory of the Armenian nation, I request you, therefore, to help in this work for your happiness and consolation.

Yours humble,

Rev. ARRATHOON SHUMAVON.

" Madras, the 20th Qamar in the year of Our Lord, 1794 ".

MESROVB J. SETH.

(3) The "Hoon" was the native (Tamil) name for the silver coin then current in the Madras Presidency and was the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ Sicca Rupees of the East India Company. It was called the "Pagoda" by the English traders by reason of its having on the obverse the image of a Hindoo "Pagoda" of Southern India. Madras was a very prosperous at that time and the "Pagoda Tree" was in full bloom then. Alas for departed glory! While at Shiraz, the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon had the misfortune to lose his two sons in the short space of one month. Overcome by grief he left his fold and retired from the city. He took up his abode with the Persian *darvishes* (anchorites) in the solitude of Babakhoh—"far from the madding crowd." This hill, the Parnassus of the Persians, being within easy distance, however, of the city (Shiraz) was the favourite haunt of the two famous Persian poets, Saadi and Hafez, who frequently resorted thither to invoke their muse. The Armenian Cemetery of Shiraz nestles at the foot of this hill, and there sleeps the immortal Armenian poet, Mesrovb David Theliatian of Erivan. For seven long years the bereaved Shumavon remained with the Persian *darvishes* at Babakhoh, and studied closely the flowery Persian language—justly styled the French of the East—which he completely mastered and distinguished himself as a Persian scholar. Yielding eventually to the entreaties of those who were dear and near to him, he returned once more to the city from which he had turned his face. Shortly afterwards he departed from Shiraz, with its melancholy association and came to Madras in 1784 as a Minister for the Armenian Church of that place. In 1789 he started a printing press at Madras for printing and publishing books in the Armenian language. The first publication from his press, in 1789-90 was a reprint of "The Martyrology of the Virgin Marianeh" which according to the interesting title-page was printed "from type prepared by the Rev. Arrathoon, the son of Shumavon of Shiraz for the benefit of the Armenian Youth". Through his profound knowledge of the Persian language he found great favour in the eyes of Omdat-ul-Mulk Valajah Amir-ul-Hind Asaph-ul-Dowlah, the Nawab Khan Bahadoor of Arcot, from whom he received permission in 1795 to print and publish books in the Persian and Arabic languages as well. A copy of the Nawab's *farman* granting him permission, lithographed in fine Persian and Arabic characters is to be seen at page 253 of the "Azdarar" for 1795.

A Forgotten Island of the Bay of Bengal.

(Based on the records of the Imperial Record Dept.)

INTRODUCTION.

THE vast and incredible accumulation* of silt and sand which is continually taking place around the mouths of the innumerable rivers and watercourses of the Gangetic delta and the constant modification of this process by natural disturbances, such as seismic shocks, effects of bores and tornadoes, which are going on here silently but surely through uncounted ages are responsible for the formation and subsequent disappearance of several new lands, in the shape of islands, promontories, headlands, etc. at these places. Among such kind of lands none, perhaps, played so important a part in the annals of the East India Company's trade in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th century as the Coxe Island (spelt in the records as Cocks Island) at the mouth of the Hughly River. This island during that period not only served as a safe retreat for many a Company's weather-beaten trading-vessels but also in other respects materially furthered their commercial enterprise in Bengal by forming an important halting station for the ships engaged in the Company's Eastern trade. So prominent was once this Coxe Island whose name is now buried in oblivion. There is, however, at present a much neglected and almost forlorn island in the Hughly River, some miles away from Diamond Harbour, known as 'Kak Dwip,' but it is difficult to say whether this 'Kak Dwip' is really the Coxe Island of the 18th century. If it is not so, "the Coxe Island" of this paper has either been submerged under the waters of the Bay of Bengal on account of some aforesaid convulsions of Nature or has become the part and parcel of that inhospitable and wild tract of land commonly known in geography as the *Sunderbunds* or the lands of *Sundri* trees (*Heritiera littoralis*). However, that is a subject well worthy of the attention of our research students. But as there are some old papers in the archives of the Imperial Record Department containing several interesting facts regarding this once important island, a description of them is sure to be edifying to the research-students of Bengal.

SOME FACTS REGARDING THE COXE ISLAND.

2. The name of this island though occurs very frequently in the Public Department records of the latter half of the 18th century, yet no information from them could be traced as to the name of its discoverer or the period

* It has been calculated by Sir Charles Lyall, author of the *Principles of Geology* that about 40,000 millions of cubit feet of solid matter are deposited at the head of the Bay of Bengal by the combined rivers of the Gangetic Delta every year.

when it was first seen.* All that we find from them is that during the latter half of the 18th century this island was a very important centre of the Company's Bengal trade, where several trading-vessels of the Company used to meet either to save themselves from dangers of the sea or for commercial purposes. The names of some of the prominent commercial ships which used to touch here (as appear from the records) are (1) the *Worcester* (2) the *Hinchinbrooke* (3) the *Resolution*, (4) the *Fully Sultana* (5) the *Major*, (6) the *Halsewell* (7) the *Lord Macartney* (8) the *Ceres* (9) the *Fox* (10) *The Norfolk* (11) the *Henry Dundas* (12) *The Princess Amelia* (13) *The Talbot* (14) *The Southampton* (15) the *Besborough* (16) the *Valentine* (17) the *Berrington* (18) the *Hillsborough* (19) the *Cornewallis* (20) the *Vansittart*, etc.

COXE ISLAND—AS A SAFE RETREAT FOR THE DISTRESSED SHIPS.

3. That this island once formed the safe retreat for distressed vessels will be evidenced from the following letter (1) of Capt. David Arthur of the ship *Major* to Mr. J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board, dated Cock's Island (sic) the 15th April, 1783. The letter runs thus:—

"Please acquaint the Hon'ble Board that the ship *Major* at 4 p.m. yesterday, in 6 p.m. betwixt Sagar and the Eastern Reef parted from her anchor. The wind blowing strong from S.W., S.S.W. and the sea running very high and having before parted from two anchors, there remaining only the sheet and stream (sic), was reduced to the necessity of putting back. We very fortunately made the buoys of the Middle and Gasper and arrived safe at Cock's Island the same evening at 7 o'clock."

COXE ISLAND'S DANGEROUS POSITIONS.

4. Though this island thus saved many Company's ships from the stress of weather yet, it appears from the papers, that it itself lay surrounded by positions highly dangerous and treacherous to shipping. The following letter (2) from Capt. David Tolme of the Ship *Resolution* to J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board, dated Sand Heads, 20th Oct. 1783, will illustrate the above point:—

"I have to request that you will be pleased to inform the Board that the *Resolution* is at last safe out after a most tedious passage from Culpee to Cock's Island. The passage is now become very dangerous. The Channel is so narrow and much less water than in February last. The pilot is now going to have the ship in 15 fathoms water." Again from the following letter of John Ritchie, (3) Marine Surveyor, to the Board, dated Calcutta, the 28th October 1784, we get another instance of how the position of this island was dangerous to navigation:—

* But from Rennel's Atlas which was published in 1781 we find a place near this island called "New Harbour".

(1) Pub. O. C. 1 May, 1783, No. 28.

(2) Pub. O. C. 1 Dec., 1783, No. 52.

(3) Pub. O. C. 3 Nov., 1784, No. 35.

"I beg leave to represent to you that a buoy is still wanting to mark the western side of the New Channel above Cock Island. The season for the large ships going down from town being now at hand, the pilots have applied to me to procure this buoy for them, as the want of it subjects them to great difficulties and the ships in their charge to a very great risk."

PORT OF KEDGEREE IN COMMERCIAL TOUCH WITH THE COXE ISLAND.

5. Another important fact which we find from the papers concerning the Coxe Island is that Kedgerree, which is now a neglected malarious village, was at that period a highly flourishing port. On account of its being in close proximity to the aforesaid island, it was then in close commercial touch with that island, whence Mr. John Lloyd, agent for despatching the Europe ships, used to hold frequent correspondence (4) with the Board regarding the "Coxe Island" shipping.

RECLAMATION WORK OF THE COXE ISLAND.

6. Finding the Coxe Island highly advantageous to their commercial purposes, the Board towards the beginning of the year 1783 conceived the idea to improve its importance by undertaking to clear this island. For this purpose the Board sanctioned (5) 5,000 *sicca* rupees and requested the Committee of Revenue to help Mr. John Ritchie, Marine Surveyor, to whom they committed the task of reclaiming the island, with 200 coolies accustomed to cutting down woods and jungles. (6) The following extract from the letter (7) of John Ritchie to J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board (General Dept.), dated Calcutta, March 18th, 1783, will show that this task fell on a really capable and willing hand. It further shows that John Ritchie not only fully appreciated the commercial value of this island but also of his own accord, suggested and interesting method of obtaining fresh drinking water for the use of the ships. The extract, in question, also throws an interesting light on the jungle-life of the labourers of the Sunderbunds. It runs thus:—

"Nothing can be more beneficial to the public service than the idea which the Hon'ble Board entertain of clearing Cock Island of the jungle for the convenience of shipping. Such a convenience is absolutely necessary, and the Cock Island is well adapted to the purpose; for being detached from the land and of no great extent, the whole of it may be cleared; which will remove the fear, at least it will effectually remove the danger of people being carried off by tigers, for none will come there in the daytime after the ground is clear. I think an attempt

(4) Pub. O. C. 7 Apr., 1783, No. 7; 26 Jan., 1784, Nos. 120 and 122; 20 Feb., 1784, No. 100; 29 Nov., 1784, No. 60.

(5) Pub. O. C. 1 May, 1783, No. 33.

(6) Pub. O. C. 24 Mar., 1783, No. 13.

(7) Pub. O. C. 20 Mar., 1783, No. 12.

should also be made to obtain fresh water upon it, which may easily be done if we follow the practice of the *Mollingahs* at their salt works in the Sunderbunds. Instead of digging very deep tanks with a view to get water from the earth, they open a large surface and only dig it about six or eight feet deep placing the earth of the excavation round the border of the tank, not in a high ridge but sloping inward like a wedge in order to collect the rain water and throw it into the tank. When a tank is newly made in the manner I have mentioned, they look out for some of the freshest earth they can find on places which is never overflowed by the tides and mixing it up with fresh water, they make a kind of plaister and with it plaister over the whole bottom sides and (record torn) of their new made tank; so that no part of the blue (record torn) bottom touches the water and so leave it to collect there water in the rainy season. I saw one of these just finished upon the Paravanga Island in the mouth of Murja (record torn) River in April, 1768 and in December of the same year watered four vessels at it, with as good water as is that on the green of Fort William, if not better. Surely we could make a reservoir of this kind as well as these poor people do and upon a much larger scale and would consequently succeed better. Economy would point out the circular form for such a tank as containing the largest surface within the least possible limit." Form the above letter of John Ritchie to J. P. Auriol, we also find that he proposed to undertake the reclamation-work of the Coxe Island from the October, 1783 as the weather before this period would, according to him, be unsuitable for this attempt. Says he in his aforesaid letter to J. P. Auriol:—

"I fear I should mislead the Hon'ble Board if I were to say that I could carry their (Board's) orders for clearing Cock Island into execution immediately. I think the season would not admit of it without incurring an unnecessary expense for the people must for some time be accommodated with boats for themselves as well as for their water, provisions and implements; and this boisterous time would hardly permit the business to go on, especially as the rains would be on upon us before any great progress could be made. I would therefore wish it to be postponed till the end of October at which time, everything being prepared, I could proceed with certainty of success."

SURVEY OF THE COXE ISLAND AND THE NEW CHANNEL BY CAPT. J. H. DEMPSTER.

7. In connection with the reclamation-work of Coxe Island, a survey of this Island and of the New Channel (a dangerous passage between the Long Sand and Gasper Sand) was made by Capt. J. H. Dempster about the middle of the year 1783. His report is embodied in the following extract from his letter, (8) dated Balasore Roads, 3rd May, 1783:—

"Where the ships lay at Coxe's Island I conceive to be fully as good a place at Kedgerree but not so good as Culpee. It would be a great improvement on the place if the Government would give encouragement to a few

Europeans and natives to settle there. By clearing the ground, building some temporary houses and digging for fresh water, the place would wear another appearance. But it damps the officers belonging to ships to have no possibility of assistance from the shore and no communication with town but by their own boats.

With respect to the Channel, it is broad enough everywhere for a ship to turn in and the least water we had was 24 fathoms to 27 feet. But then it was not quite low water. Provided the weather is at all moderate I conceive the Channel to be perfectly safe; and I observed in sounding that there was frequently places of a mile in length where a ship might bring up in five fathom low water. My idea is, that were the pilots attentive in sounding, they might find out different stages where a ship of any draught might anchor with safety. At the same time, except on an emergency, ships ought not to load above 20 feet 6 inches; and no *Indiaman* will be deeper when she has her Europe cargo in. We rode in half five at low water and had not less water."

RECLAMATION WORK AT THE COXE ISLAND IS TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED.

8. It appears from the records (9) that the work of cutting down woods and jungles and other reclamation work of the Coxe Island which commenced, according to the letter of John Ritchie of the 18th March, 1783, towards the end of October, 1783 suffered a check towards the close of that year as John Ritchie was ordered by the Board "to execute some partial surveys at various places of the West Coast of the Bay of Bengal." Besides this, the money, viz. 5,000 *sicca* rupees, which was sanctioned by the Board for commencing this work was also spent in "relieving the necessities of the *Eliza's* (the name of a ship) crew." It does not transpire from the records when the clearance work of this island was again resumed by Ritchie but it appears that it was subsequently done, as we find from a letter (10) written by Surgeons B. Hartley and J. Tailour to the Governor-General, dated Calcutta, 3rd February, 1785 that they strongly expressed a desire to erect a hospital at Coxe Island for the benefit of the diseased sea-men by raising subscriptions—a proposal which they would have never ventured to offer, if the reclamation work of the island undertaken by Mr. Ritchie entirely ceased. The note (11) of the aforesaid surgeons in connection with the Coxe Island Hospital, which is given below, is sure to prove interesting to the research students:—

"The consideration of humanity, as well as policy require that particular attention should be had to the health and service of the European Seamen employed in the Hon'ble Company's ships, which in both instances is neglected and evaded on their arrival in Bengal."

"For want of proper advice or medicines at the common stations of Kedgerree or Culpee, the seamen of the Company's ships are obliged to be

(9) Pub. O. C. 2 Aug., 1784, No. 42.

(10) Pub. O. C. 10 Feb., 1785, No. 66.

(11) Pub. O. C. 10 Feb., 1785, No. 67.

transported to Calcutta in many cases at the risque (sic) of their lives, at all events very dangerous. And, in the case of their being restored to health they are often, if not always, induced by the representations they receive to desert their former employments and remain in the Settlement, which they are enabled too easily to effect."

"For these reasons, it is humbly suggested to your Honourable Board that, if an Hospital with proper attendants were erected at Cox's Island, where the diseased Seamen might be also under the eye of their Commanders, it would answer the most salutary and beneficial purposes, tending to the most effectual means of preserving their Health and the certainty of continuing their services to the Company."

"In order to carry this plan into execution, the Subscribers presume to lay before the Honourable Board the following proposals for their approbation."

"No. 1. They propose to erect a Hospital on the most healthy spot which the Island at present affords, with accommodations capable of receiving three hundred men.

No. 2. In order to render the Island as healthy as possible by promoting a full and free circulation of air, the subscribers will undertake to clear and cultivate the ground with all the diligence in their power; that it may not only answer the purposes above suggested but prove a salutary resort for valitudinarians of every description.

No. 3. That the fear of incurring Expense to the Company may be no objection to the plan, the Subscribers will, with the permission of Government, undertake to execute it at their own expense; if, when the Hospital shall be finished and approven of, and the Island sufficiently cleared, the Hon'ble Board will grant them what salary it may deem adequate to the Hospital establishment, with the appointment of (them as) Surgeons to it; and a grant of the Island upon a quit Rent for the term of twenty years "

NO RESPONSE OF THE BOARD TO THE PROPOSAL.

9. As the Surgeons Hartley and Tailour received no response to their aforesaid note they again wrote a letter to the Board on the 9th March, 1785, dwelling on the urgency of their proposal and requesting the Boards' sanction. This letter (12) which throws some light on the then topography and climatic condition of the Island amply repays a perusal:—

"Some time ago we took the liberty of presenting to your Hon'ble Board a proposal for building an Hospital on Cox's Island for the reception of Sick and diseased Seamen from the Hon'ble Company's Ships upon their arrival at Bengal."

"The Humanity as well as obvious utility of this Plan we flattered ourselves could not fail to recommend it to the approbation of the Hon'ble

Board the tedious and hazardous conveyance of the men from the anchorage of the Ships to Calcutta (which of itself must endanger their lives) would by this means be prevented."

"The Dissipation which they fall into by a residence in Calcutta and the probability of subsequent desertion avoided inducements of the greatest weight respecting this useful Class of men."

"This Plan, however, was accompanied with a proposal of Clearing the Island which being inconsistent with former arrangements made by your Hon'ble Board, you were pleased to suspend the consideration of it. We now beg leave further to suggest that the Principal object we had in view by an attempt to clear the Island was subservient to the purposes of the Hospital for the cultivation of vegetables so necessary to the restoration and health of the Seamen after a long Voyage. It is only necessary therefore that the Hon'ble Board will permit us to have a grant of such a quantity of Ground contiguous to the Hospital as will be sufficient for this Purpose upon the Terms allowed to others, who are at the trouble and expense of clearing the Land."

"Conceiving that the only objection urged by your Hon'ble Board is thus removed, we trust that you will resume the Consideration of our Original proposal and for the reasons we have stated in support of it, be induced to comply with our Request."

"It will be remembered by the Honorable Board that we made offer of building the Hospital at our own Expense only requiring such an Establishment for it's support as to your Honorable Board should appear proper and necessary. We are further ready and willing to find security for completing the Building, before the season when the next Fleet from Europe is expected, that there may be no delay in the experience of the benefits for which it is intended."

"Your Petitioners are however, aware of another objection which may possibly arise to the plan they have proposed, viz., the distance between the usual Anchorage of the shipping at Culpee and Kedgeriee from the situation of the Hospital. To obviate this we must in the first place observe that it is on all accounts preferable to Calcutta, not only as being less distant, but as being free from the inconveniences we have already represented by the Conveyance and residence of the Seamen there. And in the second place it is evident from examining the situation of Culpee that the passage from thence to Sagor Point, where the Hospital is intended to be built must be safe and expeditious through Channel Creek, at the mouth of which Sagor lies, and this we are informed will be the case at all seasons of the year. As to the other anchoring places of Kedgeriee and Injeelee they are almost opposite and an easy access is always open from these to the Island."

"Your Petitioners have lately been at the pains to examine the Island very accurately and they can venture to assure the Hon'ble Board of its particular salubrity and the Goodness of the water to be found there."

"Upon the whole we flatter ourselves that the scheme we have proposed is worthy of the Encouragement of the Honorable Board which we

presume to hope will be extended to our anxious and unremitting endeavours to deserve it."

THE BOARD REJECT THE PROPOSAL.

10. However we find from the records that according to the Resolution (13) of the Board, dated the 14th March, 1785, the proposal of the aforesaid Surgeons was rejected. The Resolution runs thus:—"Ordered that Messrs. Hartley and Tailour be informed that the Board do not think proper to accede to their proposals, having it in contemplation to carry such a plan into execution on the part of the Government." But whether the building of hospital at Coxe Island was ever afterwards actually undertaken by Government does not transpire from the records up to the year 1800.

POST OFFICE AT THE COXE ISLAND.

However we find from the papers (14) that a Post Office existed at Coxe Island in the year 1798 and the following extract occurs in a letter written by Sir C. W. Blunt, Post Master-General of Bengal, to the Board of Trade on the 14th November, 1797:—

"I would beg leave to recommend that a postage of 8 annas should be levied on all letters sent to Coxe Island." Records further enlighten us that between the years 1787-8, Messrs. W. Bruere, R. Ireland and B. Crisp were the Custom Masters at Coxe Island.

CONCLUSION.

11. Such was 'Coxe Island' as is revealed by the Public Department records up to the end of the 18th century. Any further information about this once interesting land if found from subsequent records will be noticed in some future issue of this journal.

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,
Imperial Record Department,
CALCUTTA.

(13) Pub. progs. vol. Mar. 1785, p. 127.

(14) Pub. O. C. 30 Jan., 1798, No. 21.

Mother of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula

AMINA BEGAM was the youngest daughter of Nawab Aliwardi Khan. He gave her in marriage to his youngest and favourite nephew, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who was made Governor of Patna.

Aliwardi had started his career in the Court of Shuja Khan, Nawab of Bengal, and by dint of ability soon made himself a great favourite of the Nawab. Shuja Khan raised him to the governorship of the frontier province of Bihar in 1729. Shuja was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan in 1739, and it was from the latter that Aliwardi ungratefully wrested the *masnad* of Murshidabad—one of the few acts that constitute a blot on his character.

A few days before Aliwardi was appointed to the governorship of Patna, Amina gave birth to a child, whom Aliwardi adopted as his own and named Mirza Muhammad, and who was later known as Nawab Siraj-ud-daula. The fact of his birth practically coinciding with his grand-father's appointment doubly endeared Mirza Muhammad to Aliwardi.

Aliwardi was always averse to unnecessary bloodshed, and his daughter, Amina Begam, too inherited this humane characteristic. A generous and tender-hearted lady, her advice to her son, Siraj-ud-daula, was always to be merciful. In 1756 a quarrel broke out between the English and Siraj-ud-daula, then Nawab of Bengal. He was determined to drive them out of Bengal, but his mother, Amina "tried to restrain him by the reproach that he was going to measure his strength against (mere) merchants." (1) He, however, declined to follow her advice, and seized the English Factory at Kasimbazar, made its chief—Mr. Watts, with his wife (afterwards Begam Johnson) and children prisoners, and then marching on Calcutta made himself master of Fort William (June 1756).

But the compassionate nature of Amina Begam soon led to the release of Mr. Watts and his family.

"The Begam took Mrs. Watts and her little ones into her zenana, where she was treated with the utmost kindness and respect. After the lapse of thirty-seven days, while the Nawab still continued in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the Begam contrived to send her guest by river under escort to Chandernagar, where the French Governor hospitably entertained her. The Begam next, at the urgent instance of her son's wife, induced him to release Mr. Watts, who thereupon rejoined his family." (2)

(1) Translation of a letter from M. Le Conte to M. Courtin at Dacca, dated Chandernagar 19th June, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, i. 20.

(2) Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 158; also Hill's *Bengal*, i. lx, lxi, 176.

The interest of the Begams of the Nawab's family in the safety of the English merchants may have been partly due to the fact that they used to trade on their own account through these foreign merchants. Dr. Forth mentions how very angry Amina Begam was with Amin Chand (Omichand) for forestalling the sale of her consignment of opium and saltpetre at Calcutta:

"About two years ago he [Omichand] had got a large Persia cat, which he sent to the old Nabob. I happened to be at the *Durbar* that morning when his *gomastah* brought it in. Finding the old man very much pleased with it he took the opportunity to acquaint the Nabob that Omichand had a quantity of opium and saltpetre lying at Jullongee which came down with the Begum's opium (the present Nabob's mother) that was to go altogether to Hughly, but that remaining there so long he should lose the opportunity of selling it; begged that the Nabob would give an order that he might take out his concern from the Begum's and send it down in boats of his own. This was immediately granted, the opium and saltpetre was taken out and sent down. I had occasion to go from the *Durbar* to the Begum's who was at that time my patient. When I came in she was very angry having just heard of the order obtained, and said that Omichand could have anything he asked, ever to her prejudice, and that the Nabob had granted him leave to take his opium away, which he would sell first and she would lose the sale of hers. She wanted the old Nabob (her father) to recall the order but in vain." (3)

In June 1746 Siraj-ud-daula was married with great pomp at Murshidabad. His father, Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Governor of Patna) and mother, Amina Begam, were present on the occasion. Zain-ud-din during his stay at Murshidabad cast an envious eye on the power and wealth of his two brothers—Nawazish Muhammad and Sayyid Ahmad—and on the Court of his uncle, Nawab Aliwardi; and counting on the weakness of the two former, and on the old age of the latter, he concluded that he would gain an easy victory in a contest for the throne.

On his return to Patna he became anxious to win over to his side two Afghan captains Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan of Darbhanga. He now proposed to Nawab Aliwardi that these two chiefs, with 3,000 of their best horse, might be attached to his army as, to drive them out of the province was no easy task, and to suffer them to fortify themselves was not only inexpedient but dangerous.

Aliwardi was at first very much displeased at this proposal as these two Afghan *sardars* had been dismissed from his Court on account of their collusion with the Maratha chief Raghuji Bhonslé when he invaded Bengal; and more so as he suspected them to be secret aspirants for independence.

(3) Letter from Dr. W. Forth to Mr. Drake at Fulta, dated Chinsura, 16 December, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, ii. 63-64.

But at last Nawab Aliwardi gave his consent in order to oblige his son-in-law. Zain-ud-din now invited the Afghans to join his command. They, having ambitious designs of their own, readily accepted the proposal and left Darbhanga for Patna.

Zain-ud-din was distributing betel (*pān*) as a mark of special favour to the large number of the Afghans who thronged his Court, for presenting *nazars*, when one of them suddenly cut him down with one stroke of his sabre. A terrible scene of confusion and dismay followed. But his consort, Amina Begam, had the presence of mind to barricade the gates of the *zenana* or women's apartments. The Afghans now surrounded the palace and subjected Haji Ahmad, father of Zain-ud-din, to inhuman tortures for several days, in order to make him disgorge the hidden treasures. The old man ultimately succumbed to their violence. (4)

While the city was a prey to all the horrors of sack and violence, a report spread that Nawab Aliwardi was advancing upon it by forced marches. Shamshir Khan and his nephew, Murad-shir Khan, on receipt of this news hastened to seize the family of the murdered prince. With singular heartlessness they sent open carriages, for Amina Begam and her children. Without the semblance of a veil or protection these high-born ladies were paraded through the streets of the city to the great indignation of the people. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 43-44).

The news of this disaster reached Aliwardi at Murshidabad, but he was not the man to lose his presence of mind. He immediately made an appeal for support in a council of his friends and companions-in-arms, detailed to them his misfortunes and declared that for him there was only one course left—to kill the murderers, or be killed in the attempt. In conclusion he adjured them to come forward with assistance in this perilous enterprize. These words produced the desired effect. He now began to raise the necessary money, and obtained immense sums from his son-in-law, Nawazish Muhammad, and not a little from his own daughter Bibi Ghasiti and from Jagat Seth. Then the Nawab marched on Patna, gained a complete victory over Shamshir, killing him and almost every high officer of his army, and made a great slaughter of the common soldiers (April 1748). Peace and security were once more established in the city of Patna. (5)

All this while the unfortunate Amina Begam and her children had been kept prisoners in a tent, subject to all sorts of misery and contumely. They were now brought to the Nawab's quarters and the re-union took place amid tears of joy and heartfelt thanksgiving to the Supreme Comforter. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 56).

(4) According to Orme (ii. 41) "the unfortunate and high-minded wife of Zain-ud-din found means to convey to him a dose of poison, which in a few hours released him from all his agonies."

(5) "The 26th ultimo. We received a letter from Edward Eyles, Esq., the Chief and Council at Cossimbazar, dated 23rd April advising that their vakils had brought them news of the Nawab's victory over Shamshir Khan who with Murad-shir Khan was killed in battle at Cullodi."—*Bengal Public Consultation*, May 1748 (p. 25, also p. 33).

Aliwardi was very chivalrous in his treatment of Shamshir Khan's family, who were seeking the protection of the zamindar of Bettiah. He had them brought to his seraglio with all respect and consideration, declaring that he had no quarrel with women and that he wanted to show the world that he was not like Shamshir Khan.

Amina was, alas, a frail daughter of Eve. After the death of her husband, she "became famous in Murshidabad by her amours and gallantry"—says the translator of the *Mutaqherin* (i. 282n, also ii. 124n). Like her eldest sister, Ghasiti Bibi, she also fell in love with Husain Quli, who had to pay dearly for this illicit amour (*ibid.* ii. 125). Even Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Mutaqherin*, and a near relation of Aliwardi, remarks:

"In the zenith of the conqueror's [Aliwardi's] power, such infamies and lewdness came to be practised by some females and other persons of his family, as cannot be mentioned with decency, but effectually dishonoured his family for ever. All his daughters, as well as his beloved Siraj-ud-daula, lapsed into such a flagitious conduct, and they were guilty of such a variety of shameful excesses, as would have disgraced totally any person whatever, still more, persons of their elevated rank and sublime station" (ii. 121).

How Siraj-ud-daula, after the rout at Plassey, was taken prisoner in his attempted flight to Patna, how he was brought back to Murshidabad a captive before Mir Jafar, are well known facts. The fallen Nawab was hacked to death at the instance of Miran, the brutal son of Mir Jafar. On the following morning his mangled body, thrown across the back of an elephant, was carried through the busy city, thus heralding the accession of the new sovereign—Mir Jafar.

When the elephant with Siraj's corpse on it was passing by his mother's gate a touching scene was acted. Amina Begam knew nothing of the revolution and enquired as to the reason of the commotion outside. On hearing of the calamity, the poor lady forgot her dignity and ran out barefooted, distracted with sorrow. Throwing herself on her son's body she covered it with kisses and sat disconsolately beating her forehead and breast in her misery. The spectators were greatly moved, and Khadim Husain Khan, the nephew of Mir Jafar, who was enjoying the indignities of his former benefactor's son, seeing the effect of the scene on the multitude, gave the word to his mace-bearers who drove the unfortunate princess and the other ladies who had followed her, back into her house with a good deal of barbarous and needless violence. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 242-43).

How Amina, along with her eldest sister, Ghasiti, heroically met their doom—has already been narrated at length.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

The Life of Lala Babu.

(*Krishna Chandra Sinha of the Paikpara Raj and Kandi Raj.*)

(A Saint of India.)

INTRODUCTION.

A BRIEF account of *Lala Babu's* life (*Krishna Chandra Sinha of the Paikpara Raj and Kandi Raj*) whose name has become a household word in Bengal and whose fame has spread to the North-west of India, cannot fail to be of interest to the many in India. Born and brought up in the lap of luxury, the inheritor of a vast fortune, he did not live his life like the average run of wealthy men. Early he realised the hollowness of earthly pleasures; and eschewing the ways of the world, gave himself up to the supreme duty of serving God and men in an ampler sphere. In these days, when the worship of Mammon is supreme and the dazzling glister of gold has obscured man's spiritual vision, the life of *Lala Babu* should serve as a refreshing study, pending to turn our thoughts inward, away "from the madding crowd's ignoble strife". His was a life of self-abnegation and self-effacement, the like of which is very rarely met with. His hands were always extended to give and not grasp; and his heart burned for love of others, for he relieved the sufferings of humanity. A career such as his should serve as a beacon-light to guide tempest-tossed voyagers over the great sea of life.

Lala Babu's Forefathers.

Genealogists have traced the ancestry of the *Raj Family of Paikpara and Kandi* to one *Anadibar*. He lived some time before the Moslem conquest of India, but nothing certain is known of him. The eighth in descent from him was *Lakshmiabar Sinha* who won the distinction of being admitted to the *Kayastha* caste. His son *Vyasdev Sinha* is said to have been the Chief Minister of the famous King *Ballal Sen* of Bengal, the founder of *Kulinism* in India. *Vyasdev Sinha* was a spirited man; he suffered martyrdom in trying to uphold the purity and dignity of his caste. The story goes that on a certain occasion the *Brahmin* subjects of King *Ballal Sen* refused to dine at his place because he had degraded himself by marrying into a low family. They gave expression to the thought that they would only accept this invitation if his Minister, *Vyasdev Sinha*, would do likewise. *Ballal Sen*, thereupon, invited his Minister to dinner; but *Vyasdev Sinha*, zealous of the honour of his caste, refused to compromise matters by responding to the royal call. At this the King grew very angry and ordered his presumptuous Minister to be put to death immediately. This act of sacrifice to uphold the sacred traditions of his caste considerably heightened the *prestige* of his Family.

Balaban Sinha, son of *Vyasdev Sinha* laid the foundation of the town of *Kandi* in the sub-division of *Berhampore*. He cleared the forest round about the site and settled there. His grandson, *Binyak Sinha* was the first *Raja* of the place. His descendants lived there till the time of *Jibadhar Sinha* who was the fifth in descent from *Binyak*. After this the history of the family becomes obscure, for very little is known of the next six generations.

More solid ground is reached at the time of *Hare Krishna Sinha*. He was the sixth in descent from *Jibadhar*. Born in 1650 A.D. he began his career as a money-lender and afterwards amassed an immense fortune by dealing in silks, for which *Murshidabad* has ever been famous. During the troublous days of the incessant raids of the *Maharatta* free-booters, *Hare Krishna* removed from *Kandi* and took up his residence at *Boalia* near *Murshidabad*. He there purchased the *Zemindari* rights of *Boalia* and a few other adjoining villages from the *Dewan* of *Murshidabad*; this newly-acquired estate has ever since formed a part of the *Zemindari* of the *Paikpara* and *Kandi Raj*. *Hare Krishna* was a devout *Vaishnav* (or follower of *Sri Krishan*) according to common report, he spent the last years of his life as a *Sannyasi* (or recluse). He died leaving behind him three sons, *Narayan*, *Gauranga* and *Behari*. They went back to *Kandi* which *Hare Krishna* had been obliged to abandon for the time being. Of *Hare Krishna's* sons, *Gauranga* became the most intelligent and the most capable of the Family. He acquired considerable proficiency in Persian, the Court language of the day. He exhibited a special aptitude for work in the Revenue Department, and he served for some time under the *Kanungo* (Head Officer) of *Dahapara*. His capacity for work coupled with his keen intellect and liberal education ensured him success in life. He added largely to his ancestral property and considerably raised the position and prestige of his family. The *Nawab* of *Murshidabad* rewarded him with the title of *Majumdar* one of the junior ranks of the officers of the *Kanungo*.

His name is associated with an anecdote illustrative of the tyranny of the *Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla*. *Gauranga* is said to have built a house some parts of which were in imitation of the *Pleasure-House* of the *Nawab*. This seemed too presumptuous in the eyes of the *Nawab*, who ordered the portions imitated to be demolished and he threw *Gauranga* into prison (*vide Calcutta Review*, January 1894).

Gauranga was a pious man. The famous temple at *Kandi*, dedicated to the God *Radhaballav*, still bears testimony to his religious zeal. He left no male issue, adopting his nephew, *Radhakanta* as his son. His younger brother, *Behari* had four sons, *Dindyal*, *Radhakanta*, *Radhacharan* and *Ganga Govinda*. Of these *Radhakanta* and *Ganga Govinda* rose to high distinction. *Radhakanta* was born in 1728. He stepped into the post held by his adoptive father and acquired great wealth by dint of marked ability. In the Revenue Department he served under two successive *Nawabs*, *Ali Verdi Khan* and *Siraj-ud-Dowla*. He also rendered valuable services to the Honourable East India Company when it acquired the *Dewani* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The Honourable Company amply rewarded him for his services. He was appointed by Clive to look after the entire Revenue

Administration along with *Mahammad Reza Khan* and *Raja Durlavram*. He was one of those who took a leading part in the overthrow of *Siraj-ud-Dowla*. He was a pious Hindu of the orthodox type. He dedicated a considerable amount of his property to the God *Rudhaballuv* and declared that the income derived therefrom should be devoted to charitable and religious purposes. He left no male issue; and before his death he adopted his nephew, *Pran Krishna* (son of *Ganga Govinda*), as his son, according to the *Dwasushayan* form of adoption.

Ganga Govinda Sinha was born in 1739. He was a man of keen intelligence and was well versed in Persian. He was quite at home with all the intricacies of the accounts of the Revenue Department. When his elder brother, *Radhakanta* retired from service, he was appointed a *Kanango* under *Reza Khan*. But he lost his post when the latter was dismissed from office. When *Warren Hastings*, however, came to India as Governor of Bengal, he was favourably impressed with *Ganga Govinda's* ability and appointed him as the *Dewan* of the Company. The whole Revenue Administration of Bengal was entrusted to his charge; but he was eventually removed from office on a charge of having taken illegal gratification. He was reinstated in 1776 when *Hastings* became supreme in the Council. Henceforward he became the right-hand man of the Governor-General and continued to exercise supreme control over the Revenue Department. Such was his influence that the *Zemindars* of Bengal stood in awe of him and never dared to incur his displeasure. But his supremacy ended with the departure of his patron and he retired in 1785 into private life after having amassed considerable wealth.

Having retired *Ganga Govinda* lived on for fourteen years. He spent almost the whole of the vast fortune, he had acquired (ninety *lakhs* of rupees), in charity and other works of public utility. He celebrated his mother's *Sradh* ceremony with great pomp and spent about twenty *lakhs* of rupees on that occasion. At the *Anna-prasan* (a ceremony when the child arrives at years of discretion) of his grandson *Lala Babu*, invitations to the *Pundits* were engraved on gold leaves. His other achievements were similarly pitched on a grand scale. He helped the poor and the needy, encouraged learning by giving liberal allowances to the *Pundits*, established charitable institutions at several centres and prompted enterprises which furthered the cause of religion and the social welfare of the community to which he belonged. In forming an estimate of him one should say that he though unscrupulous in the manner of acquiring wealth, he made a noble use of it and spent it lavishly for the good of others. He died in 1799.

Lala Babu.

Krishna Chandra, better known as *Lala Babu*, was born in 1775 (1182 B.S.). He was the grandson of *Dewan Ganga Govinda Sinha*. His father *Pran Krishna*, besides inheriting the estates of the late *Dewan* was heir to the property of his uncle, *Radhakanta*, who had adopted him as his son according to the *Dwasashayan* form. This addition to his ancestral property considerably augmented his income and *Pran Krishna* became one of the

wealthiest men of Bengal. He had served under Warren Hastings along with his father and so had acquired considerable experience in managing *zemindari* affairs. He largely increased his patrimony. He was a pious man with a charitable turn of mind and made excellent arrangements for the proper performance of religious ceremonies and the rites of hospitality. He died in 1215 B.S.

During his boyhood *Krishna Chandra* stayed with his parents for some time in the North-West Provinces, (now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), where the *Kayasthas* of high families are known by the term *Lala*. It was thus that he perhaps, earned the name, *Lala Babu*. According to another account, it was the expression of endearment used by his grandfather when addressing his favourite grandson. Be that as it may, the boy came to be known as *Lala Babu* and this surname soon supplanted his real name in popular currency.

Lala Babu even when a mere boy, gave promise of those qualities of head and heart, which have since endeared his name to his countrymen. A beautiful story told of him, clearly shows that from his boyhood his heart was full of the milk of human kindness. His father had a pet parrot. One day the boy *Lala Babu* found it screeching and flapping its wings against the iron bars of its cage. The touching sight excited his pity and he released the bird at once, heedless of the punishment that lay in store for him.

Early in life *Lala Babu* developed a taste for reading for the acquisition of knowledge. His education was well looked after and he soon acquired considerable proficiency in Arabic and Persian; and won the reputation of being one of the best *Munshis* of his time. He was also well versed in Sanskrit. He knew by heart the greater portion of the *Srimat Bhagbata* (the story of *Sree Krishna's* doings at *Brindaban*), a voluminous work containing about 18,000 slokas (stanzas). He could readily explain all the abstruse passages of this high philosophical work; and had a clear recollection into its many recondite verses. His handwriting was excellent and was much admired for its neatness and legibility.

He was by nature gentle and unassuming. His unostentatious simplicity was all the more laudable inasmuch as he was blessed with everything which man desires to possess wealth, honour, learning. Nothing however could turn him from his habitual modesty and his sense of rectitude. It is reported that his friends to test him, resorted to many subterfuges with the object of ensnaring him in one or other of the meshes of temptation, but *Lala Babu* came out of every ordeal unscathed. His strength of character remained unshaken and his hatred of evil deepened.

Lala Babu married the daughter of *Gaur Mohan Ghosh* of *Rushore*, named *Katyayani*.

Although the only son of one of the wealthiest of the aristocrats of Bengal *Lala Babu* was compelled to seek service under the Government. The circumstances which led him to this course are curious. His father *Pran Krishna*, was somewhat mean in his manner; and some of his pecuniary transactions were not in keeping with the dignity of his position. *Lala Babu*

disliked such dealings and on this account father and son were not on the best of terms. On a certain occasion, the Manager of his father's Estate gave to *Lala Babu's* servant a piece of cloth which was too short for him to wear. The servant was sorely disheartened. To draw the notice of his Master (*Lala Babu*) he put it round his waist, hanging it with a cord to make the *dhoti* appear of the required size. The contrivance succeeded and soon drew the notice of *Lala Babu* who ascertained all from the servant, on questioning him. Thereupon *Lala Babu* went to his father's Manager and ordered him to give his servant a proper piece of cloth to wear. The Manager reported the matter to *Pran Krishna*, who flew into a rage and said: "My son is old enough to earn money on his own account. If he is dissatisfied with the cloth given to his servant, let him earn something and give his servant a better and broader piece." This remark of the father wounded the sensitive spirit of *Lala Babu*; and he made up his mind to leave his father's place to shift for himself. He secured some money by selling a few of his wife's ornaments and after giving his servant a suitable piece of cloth he left *Kandi*, to carve his own way in the world.

Lala Babu was only 17 years old when he left his father's place and took service as a *Sheristadar* (Officer-in-Charge) in Burdwan. In those days it was a prize post, open only to the members of high families for eminent services rendered to the Government, *Lala Babu*, therefore, had no difficulty in securing the post. Though just a stripling, he carried an old head over young shoulders and soon proved himself an able and intelligent Officer. While at Burdwan he purchased the *Zemindari* of *Latbisalakshmiipur*. The Government rewarded his ability by promoting him to the post of a Settlement Officer. He was entrusted with the charge of the settlement operations there. While so employed he also purchased the *Zemindari* rights of the three *Perganas*, *Rahang*, *Sair* and *Chabisakud*. Wherever he went he gave clear proof of a noble heart; at *Puri* he made arrangements for a monthly allowance of Rs. 300 to be given for the service of the God *Jaggurnath*.

But his stay in Orissa was not very long. In 1215 B.S. he had to hurry back to *Kandi* on receiving news of his father's illness. The journey was long as there was no railway communication in those days. He arrived just in time to have a last look at his dying father who lay unconscious on his death-bed. After his father's death he retired from Government Service and thenceforward devoted himself to the service of God. About this time he would stay in Calcutta for some time in order to enable him to study the *Shastras*. For this purpose he engaged the services of several learned *Pundits* and soon became well versed in *Shastric* lore. While in Calcutta he became very intimate with the *Raj* Family of *Sorabazar*. A close friendship sprang up between him and *Raja Rajkrishna* who turned over a new leaf owing to the holy instructions and the moral influence of *Lala Babu's* magnetic personality.

Although there were many calls upon his time and attention he never failed in the performance of those *Shastric* injunctions which Hinduism demands of its votaries. About half of his time was spent in holy meditation, prayer and in the perusal of religious books. He effected considerable

improvement in the matter of conducting the Daily Service of the Household God, *Radhaballava*. Distribution of alms to the poor, entertainment of guests, the rites of hospitality,—all these received his devoted attention. In order to keep also his passions in check he carefully regulated his diet. He was a strict vegetarian and even at that his fare was of the simplest kind.

Lala Babu did not stay long at *Kandi* after his retirement from Service. His heart was set upon going to the holy district of *Brindaban*; preparatory to going there, he set about making necessary arrangements. He gave up everything that was dear and near to him,—his beloved wife, his only son and his vast riches; donning the garb of a mendicant he determined to turn his steps towards *Brindaban*. Several accounts are to be found of the circumstances which prompted him in the course he took.

It is said that one day a fisherwoman came to his place with some fish. After waiting for some time for the price she became impatient and said: "It is getting dark, I must cross the river?" This expression of impatience on the part of the fisherwoman reached *Lala Babu's* ears and set him a-thinking. To him the words seemed pregnant with deep spiritual significance. It awakened him to the consciousness that he too would have to cross the sea of life, before darkness could overtake him. He, thereupon, made up his mind and gave up all he had to prepare himself for his great voyage out of the trammels of this world into the ocean of bliss. Other accounts attribute expressions of similar import to several other persons, his daughter, his servant, who uttered them in order to draw attention to the near approach of night.

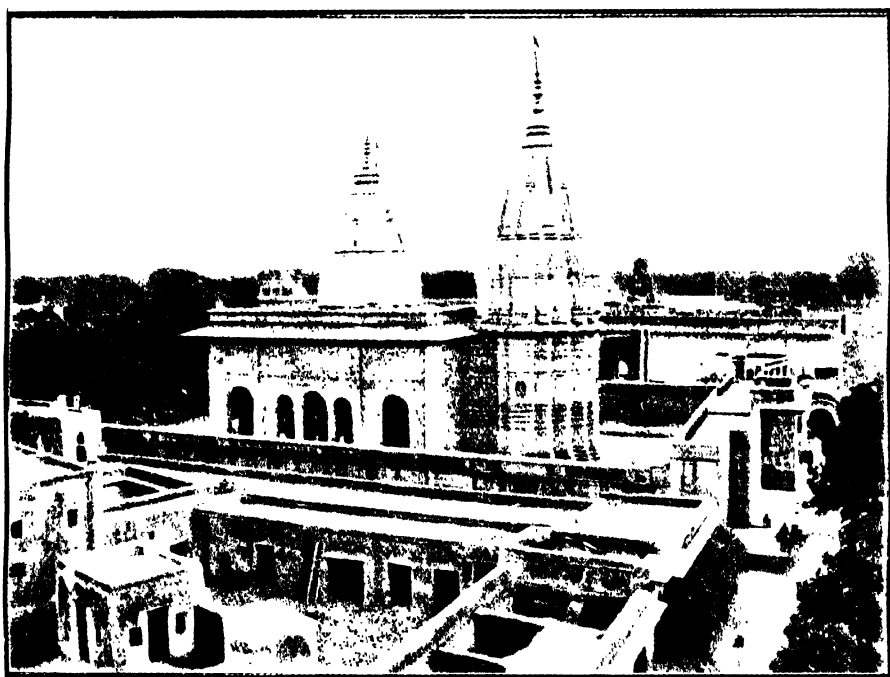
The real facts appear to be these. A certain *Brahmin* once came to his place to seek justice against the conduct of one of *Lala Babu's* Officers who had deprived him of his rent-free lands. *Lala Babu* promised to redress the *Brahmin's* grievances and fixed a date for making enquiries into the case. On the appointed day the *Brahmin* came but was not able to secure the interview he had sought. Despairing of the possibility of the recovery of his property, he committed suicide by hanging himself by means of a rope attached to the overhanging branch of a neighbouring tree. Next day, early in the morning, as *Lala Babu* was going out for a walk he was startled at the sight of a dead body suspended from a tree. Recognising it as the body of the ill-fated *Brahmin*, he guessed the cause of his sad end. The conviction was then borne upon his mind that the *Brahmin* had taken his life because he had failed to secure the redress of his grievances. *Lala Babu* was full of remorse. The extreme length to which a *Brahmin* could go for things earthly, filled him with dismay. He felt in the inmost recesses of his heart that wealth was the root of all evil in this world; that it was a thing to be avoided rather than to be sought. With such thoughts in his mind he determined to retire from this worldly life and set out for *Brindaban* the holy place where *Sree Krishna* lived as a child to prepare himself for the sacred state of asceticism.

LALA BABU AT BRINDABAN.

Lala Babu proceeded to *Brindaban* in the prime of his life; and it was in that holy place that he made his life remarkable both by his generous acts

of bounty and by his unstinted devotion. Before he left home, he made every arrangement for the education of his son and the control of his household. The *Rani Katyayani* ably managed the affairs of his house in his absence; it is recorded that when she was in great difficulties concerning several law-suits, *Lala Babu* returned for a while, settled things satisfactorily for her and went back again to continue his duties as a pious recluse. *Nilmani Bose* of *Chorehagan*, Calcutta was appointed Agent to conduct all law-suits as well as to manage all the *zemindari* affairs. *Lala Babu* took with him the enormous sum of twenty-five lakhs of rupees and had as his residence at *Brindaban* in a large mansion built by the *Maharaja* of *Bharatpur*. It was not at first known who he was nor for what purpose he had come there; but the fame of his charity soon spread abroad and excited the cupidity of thieves and dacoits, of whom there were great numbers in the neighbourhood. His house was plundered and money to the extent of three lakhs was stolen.

In 1227 B.S., *Jait*, while in the United-Provinces, *Lala Babu* set about for the achievement of two great objects, to build a magnificent temple and to retire from the world to lead the life of a devotee. For the materials to build his temple he applied to one of the Chiefs of *Rajputana*, who having heard of the purpose for which they were required gladly allowed him, free of charge, to carry away as much marble and stone as he required, from his territory. Arrangements were accordingly made for the transport of the materials to *Brindaban*, in which the *Rana* assisted as well. It so happened that the *Rana* fell out then with the British Government with regard to a treaty which he had been called upon to sign; and the vacillation which the *Rana* showed on the occasion was made the subject of inquiry. Sir Charles (then Mr.) Metcalfe (afterwards Governor-General of India), was at the time Resident at the Court of *Delhi* with plenary powers as Commissioner to deal with all offences against the British Government. It was insinuated that the *Rana* would have put his name to the treaty were it not for the intrigues of one *Krishna Chandra Sinha*, alias *Lala Babu*, a Native of Bengal, his Dewan. Mr. Metcalfe, without ascertaining how far this report was correct, at once issued an order for the arrest of *Krishna Chandra* upon a charge of State conspiracy. When his order reached the Magistrate of *Mathura* people of all classes began to ask one another how it was possible for a man so pious and so benevolent to be implicated in a crime so great. "No doubt," they said, "it is the act of some malicious persons who have poisoned the Commissioner's ears. We will follow *Lala Babu* to *Delhi* and will see what becomes of him." They did so; and no less than ten thousand persons, among whom were many *Mewatis*, *Jats*, and *Gujars*, escorted *Lala Babu* to *Delhi* with the firm determination to die in his cause should anything adverse happen. The escort gained strength as it went along; by the time it arrived at its destination it had swelled to double its original number. *Delhi* and its neighbourhood were not then as they are now. Mr. Metcalfe was alarmed at the multitude that thronged the streets of the city and he could not easily account for the popularity of the alleged culprit. He, therefore, thought it prudent to make private inquiries first as to the character and antecedents of *Lala Babu*; and subsequently, if necessary, to bring him to trial.



TEMPLE AT BRINDABAN.

Mr. Metcalfe had for his Persian writer a Bengalee named *Debi Prasad Roy* of *Santipur* in *Nuddea*. It was through this man as well as from other sources that he learned all about *Lala Babu*, his family and their long and faithful services to the Government. When he became fully satisfied as to his innocence he called *Lala Babu* to his presence and bade him be seated on a sofa. *Lala Babu* spoke in a dignified manner, such as befitted one so pure, with a heart incapable of offence against any individual, much less against the Honourable East India Company, whose salt he had eaten. He narrated at length all that had passed between him and the *Rana* and the wholesome advice he had tendered him to gain the good-will of the Company *Bahadur*. As to the allegation that he was Dewan of the Chief he replied: "I have had enough of service with man; I am now bent upon performing my duties towards God." On the next day Mr. Metcalfe took *Lala Babu* to the Court of the Emperor, where at a *Durbar* he introduced him to His Majesty as one, who with his ancestors, had performed many meritorious services to the Company *Bahadur*, in posts of the highest responsibility. At the request of the Resident, the Emperor, who was then the Fountain of Honour, offered *Lala Babu* the title of *Maharaja*, which, however, he very politely declined. About a month later *Lala Babu* returned from *Delhi* amidst the shouts of "*Jai Lala Babu ki ji!*" (victory to *Lala Babu*!) from the inhabitants of *Brajadham*.

During his stay at *Delhi* he purchased from the Family of *Raja Sher Singh* the extensive and compact *zemindari Pargana*, *Anupshair*. He also purchased in the district of *Mathura* almost all the villages which are famous for their being the place where the great *Avatar Krishna* (an incarnation of God) held his gambols and dalliances, as are narrated in the sacred *Puranis*, especially in the *Srimat Bhagabata*.

The Temple of *Lala Babu* at *Brindaban* is by far the highest of any that are to be seen in the North-West of India. It has a single dome with ample space all round the structure, being is built much after the style of the Temple of *Jaggurnath* at *Puri*. The *Thakur Krishna Chandrima* stands in the form of a statue on a marble pedestal and is the best adorned idol in all *Brindaban*. It stands to this day, a noble monument to the founder's religious zeal as well as bearing ample testimony to the architectural skill of the designer. Situated on the banks of the *Jamuna*, whose very name conjures up a thousand and one holy associations in the minds of the Hindus, the stately Temple with its exquisitely wrought image of stone inside, fills the heart of the beholder with exalted emotion of joy and devotion towards God. It is a sacred spot and completely overpowers the pious devotee who comes within its sacred precincts to worship and contemplate.

He purchased several estates near about *Mathura* and dedicated them to the service of the Idol *Krishna Chandrima*. According to his behest the sum of Rs. 100 is to be spent daily for the service of God; and one hundred persons are to be supplied daily with food. Nobody is allowed to take advantage of this charity for more than fortnight; in the case of members of his own family it is limited to one day. Besides his Temple at *Brindaban*,

another great work was the reconstruction of *Radhakunda*, an enterprise which cost *Lala Babu* a lakh of rupees.

No one is beyond the reach of calvil; and *Lala Babu* was no exception to the rule. There were persons who spread the report that *Lala Babu* was guilty of fraud in the acquisition of the estates he had dedicated to his Idol and for other charitable purposes. Such reports proceeded, no doubt, from malicious hearts; for it is highly improbable that a man who had renounced his vast estates, had severed the dearest ties of affection and had declined honours and titles, should stoop to questionable practices in order to acquire properties to be dedicated to the cherished God of his heart. An incident should enable the impartial observer to form his own opinion. The Ruling Chief of *Alwar* was indebted to *Lala Babu* for some acts which were of immense benefit to him. Out of gratitude the Chief sent some valuable presents. *Lala Babu* at first thought of declining the proffered gifts. Fearing, however, to wound the feelings of the Chief of *Alwar*, *Lala Babu* took only a diamond ring and piece of cloth to wear, sending back the remaining things offered.

Mention has already been made of the dangers which beset *Lala Babu* by reason of his intimacy with the Ruling Chief of *Rajputana*. Another and more insidious danger was in store for him. He had incurred the displeasure of the Raja of *Bharatpur* on account of some dispute over a piece of landed property. The Raja set a price on his head and *Lala Babu* had to remain in concealment for some time. The ruffians engaged to encompass this vile deed, killed a handsome-looking man whom they mistook for *Lala Babu*; and presented the severed head to the Raja of *Bharatpur*. The Raja expressed his complete satisfaction at the destruction of his enemy. Years after, when *Lala Babu* approached the Sage *Krishnadas Babaji* and expressed the desire to become his disciple, *Krishnadas* dissuaded him for the time being, as *Lala Babu* was not advanced enough to receive initiation at his hands. On *Lala Babu* pressing his demands, the Sage ordered him to wait on the Raja of *Bharatpur* for alms. According to these directions *Lala Babu* went to the Raja to beg alms. When his identity was disclosed, the Raja was filled with remorse that he had sought the head of one so simple and so unassuming and that for a trivial reason. He gave, in return a large plot of land to *Lala Babu* for the maintenance of his Idol, *Krishna Chandrima*.

Having erected Temples and endowed them with large estates, *Lala Babu* now thought of relinquishing his wordly career and espousing the life of a recluse. Of all places in the District of *Mathura*, *Gobardhan* is a secluded and consecrated spot, surrounded by the luxuriant foliage of *nim* and other trees, with a holy hill bearing the name. To this place *Lala Babu* repaired to lead the life of a *Sannyasi*. Here, away from all noise and bustle, amidst surroundings teeming with holy associations, with only the beauties of Nature to gaze upon, he built for himself a small dwelling-place; and in this woodland retreat he resided for the rest of his earthly life. Near by his cottage he built a Temple and in it he installed an idol, naming it *Runji*.

He had long heard of the fame of *Krishnadas Babaji*, a true and devoted *Vaishnava*; and out of many a *Yogis* living at that time in *Gobardhan*, *Lala Babu* selected him as his guide in the mysteries of that faith. A gentleman connected with the Family of *Lala Babu* thus writes of *Krishnadas Babaji*: "In 1861 I had an opportunity of visiting that venerable old man. He was then giving lessons to his disciples and though 101 winters have rolled over his head, yet he seems to retain all the vigour of his great and elastic mind. He received me courteously; and knowing that I was a *Brahmin*, made a profound bow to me. Never in my life did I behold a countenance so deep in piety, so bland in meekness and so calm and composed in philosophic sentiments as his. He gave me a graphic account of *Lala Babu* and the accident that caused his death. *Krishnadas Babaji* died at the age of 103."

Stories are extant as to the meeting of the Sage *Krishnadas* with *Lala Babu*. It is said that *Lala Babu* when he desired to become an ascetic used to practice all the rigorous rules found in *Hatha Yoga*. While going through these practices, *Lala Babu* was discovered by *Krishnadas*, who used to pass by, to go to a neighbouring tank to perform his morning ablutions and worship. Seeing *Lala Babu* undergoing all sorts of bodily contortions, the Saint just smiled on him and passed on. This aroused the curiosity of *Lala Babu*. He questioned the disciples of the Saint, who in their turn asked their Master. He replied that he smiled, because of the fact that *Lala Babu* was going through a series of wrong methods to become a *Yogi*. These practices were only necessary for men who were inclined to take upon themselves rigid austerities to strengthen their bodily and mental powers; but *Yogis* who desired salvation from the things of this world had higher things to do. Shortly after, when it was the time for the disciples to gather round the Master, *Lala Babu* humbly took his seat on one side and remained silent. *Krishnadas* spoke freely with his disciples, but did not breathe a word to *Lala Babu*. The next day *Lala Babu* again sat before the Saint; and asked him reverently why he was treated with such indifference. "What have I to do with you, as a man of wealth?" questioned the Saint, "my duty is only towards those who renounce all things and come to me." These words sank deep in the heart of *Lala Babu*, who, selling all that he had, once more came before the Saint. Again he noticed that *Krishnadas* was silent and took little or no notice of him. *Lala Babu* then said that he had given up all and was begging for his daily food; why then, he asked, was the Saint still indifferent towards him? *Krishnadas* smiled and looked upon him. "You have given up all, it is true" he said; "but do you not beg for alms in a place where all know you? What difficulty could there be for you to gather alms in a place where formerly many were your retainers or dependants? Everyone here knows *Lala Babu* and the lands he possessed. Your very past tenants will be able to support you more liberally than you can desire. Depart from this place; go to a place where none may know you and depend for your daily substance on those whom before you have not set eyes on; then come to me." *Lala Babu* promptly obeyed; and after a period of the severest trials he came

back to the Saint who received him with open arms and lovingly admitted him as his disciple. He was taught by *Krishnadas* the great doctrine of humility and love, found in *Vaishnava* teachings and so remarkably set forth in the life of *Chaitanya*. "You should be as the trees in the forest are; while the woodcutters ruthlessly cut their arms as branches, they gladly yield, even affording their destroyers shade and protection from the scorching sun, by their spreading foliage; or like the grass of the field although it is mercilessly tread on by the hoofs of the cattle yet it gives of its life, that others may chew and live."

Lala Babu continued a staunch disciple of *Krishnadas Babaji*, for whom he had the highest veneration. Feeling that he might be known to the people, who might come forward with plenty of food, he would not resort to more than one house a day. Even in this his wants being amply satisfied, he devised the plan of begging *incognito*. He would stir out only in the evening, wrapping himself in a blanket. Under cover of darkness he would present himself suddenly before a householder. He was satisfied if he chanced to get any alms, if not, he went back to his hermitage and remained without food. Gradually he gave up begging altogether and used to live on the fruits and roots of trees and plants. In course of time he even denied himself this diet and took to eating only the withered leaves of trees and plants and dried roots. Thus by a graduated course of abstention he freed himself from the cravings of hunger and subdued one of the most exacting appetities that oppress all mortal creatures.

So deep an impression did he create in the minds of the people of Upper India, as a *Yogi*, that he was canonised by them as a Saint. It is said that he never associated with or talked to a worldly person, once he assumed the *Yogi's* garb. An anecdote is related in respect to the intended visit which *Parekji*, a celebrated banker wished to pay him. He sent word that if the banker came in the dress of a *Sannyasi*, he would be welcome, otherwise not. *Parekji* had a mind to retire from business and to lead the life of a devoted *Vaishnava*, but when he heard that *Lala Babu* had asked him to give up all and follow him he demurred and went back. Wealth was sweeter to the banker than the strict life of ascetic.

The circumstances under which *Lala Babu* met his death, clearly show how averse he was to mixing with men and women of the world. The *Maharani* of *Gwalior* once came to *Mathura* on a pilgrimage. She had heard of *Lala Babu* and his good works and was so struck with the reports of his saintly character that she was seized with a strong desire to lay herself prostrate at his feet. She approached *Lala Babu* but he ran away from her and in the act was knocked down by the *Maharani's* horse which stood near by. He was immediately removed to his dwelling-place where he succumbed to his injuries, with his head resting on the lap of his spiritual guide and friend *Krishnadas Babaji* (1228 B.S., the year 1821). Another report says that the *Maharani* had come to pay her respects to him, escorted by a great retinue of horsemen. *Lala Babu* was determined to avoid any such public display of homage and in wending his way unknown through the coming cavalcade, was kicked to death by one of the horses of the

large retinue of the *Maharani*. He was 46 years old when he so died. The untimely passing away of *Lala Babu* cast a deep gloom over the whole of *Mathura*. The people wept in grief and felt that a Saint had passed away from their midst, who was in the world, yet not of it.

LALA BABU'S DESCENDANTS.

Lala Babu's son, *Narayan Sinha* was only thirteen years old at the time of his father's death. His mother, the *Rani Katyayani* was appointed his guardian. She was a pious lady and spent large sums of money in doing good to others. *Narayan Sinha* had three wives but was not blessed with a male issue. He gave permission to his first and third wives, the second having predeceased him, to adopt sons after his death. In pursuance of this direction his first wife adopted *Hari Mohan Ghose*, the second son of her own brother, and afterwards known as *Raja Pratap Chandra Bahadur*, C.S.I. The third wife adopted *Hari Mohan's* younger brother, *Ram Mohan*, afterwards known as *Iswar Chandra*. *Raja Pratap Chandra's* name is associated with many good works and the Government recognised his worth by honouring him with the titles of *Raja Bahadur* and Companion of the Star of India. He promoted education and was the founder of the High School at *Kandi*. *Raja Pratap Chandra* had four sons, *Giris Chandra*, *Purna Chandra* (afterwards *Raja Purna Chandra*), *Kanti Chandra*, and *Sarat Chandra* together with three daughters, *Pravabati*, *Lilabati* and *Priyambada*. *Giris Chandra* founded the present charitable dispensary at *Kandi*. He had no sons and so adopted *Sris Chandra*, the younger son of his brother *Raja Purna Chandra*; *Sris Chandra*, however, died shortly after. He had two sons *Manindra Chandra* (afterwards *Raja Manindra Chandra Sinha*, M.B.E.) who died the year he was made *Raja*, 1922, and *Fanindra Chandra* who died as a mere boy. *Raja Manindra Chandra* left three children, of whom the eldest is *Bimala Chandra* born in 1918. The descendants of the *Raj* Family of *Paikpara* and *Kandi* now live in *Calcutta* in a building which is still known as *Lala Babu's Kutir*, (*Lala Babu's House*).

The fame of *Lala Babu* will live for many a year to come; for like the great and glorious *Buddha*, though in a lesser way, he set aside riches and honour to embrace the life of a simple recluse, that others may gain thereby; and to this day there are thousands that resort to the sacred Shrine at *Brindaban* and affectionately call to mind the name of the great Saint who gave up all he had in order to show humanity the way to salvation, by renouncing the world and its riches and espousing holiness and charity.

H. W. B. MORENO.

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Burials in Calcutta : 1782-1788.

EXTRACTS from the old Burial Register of St. John's Church have already been published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, commencing with the year 1713 and ending with the year 1774:

1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.

1759 to 1761: Vol. V. pp. 136 to 162.

1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Parker and the Rev. O. W. Birch, Chaplains of St. John's Church, we have been able to arrange for a transcription of the entries from 1775 to 1788. These have not been easy to decipher, and our thanks are due to Mr. Birch for the pains taken by him to verify some of the most difficult cases.

The entries for the period between 1775 and 1781 were printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXI, pp. II: and the remaining entries from 1782 to 1788 are now given:

1782.

- | | | |
|------|-----|---|
| Jan. | 1. | John Bear, invalid. |
| " | 1. | Mary Ann Bodle, an infant. |
| " | 24. | Mr. Warren. |
| " | 25. | Joseph Lief. |
| " | 30. | Mary Patterson, a child. |
| " | 30. | Sarah Heverstone. |
| Feb. | 8. | Mrs. Ann Chambers, widow (1). |
| " | 10. | Benjamin Homes, an infant. |
| " | 12. | Harriet Impey, an infant (2). |
| " | 27. | Francis Law, inhabitant. |
| " | 28. | Mr. John Bell, inhabitant. |
| Mar. | 3. | Mrs. Selby (3). |
| " | 7. | Mary Lawson. |
| " | 12. | John Scott Taylor. |
| " | 17. | Mr. Edward Sharpe, painter and glazier. |

(1) The mother of Sir Robert Chambers. She was born in 1713 and was therefore 69 at the time of her death. William Hickey (Vol. II, p. 127) describes her as "a worthy and cheerful old lady." Mrs. Fay, writing on February 10, 1782, says that she was greatly affected by the departure on the 2nd of her grandson Thomas Fitzmaurice Chambers with the *Hoseas* in the *Grosvenor*: and was seized with a violent illness on the 7th.

(2) Daughter of the Chief Justice:

(3) Lewis Selby, keeping of the gaming house in Mission Row (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 202-203), married Mehetable Gasquoine on January 13, 1777. His wife's name is given as Sarah in a baptismal entry of September 17, 1783: but in the entry of the death of this child (Norman) on May 16, 1787, the name "Meheatable" appears as that of the mother. See also entry (below) of November 24, 1780, for the death of another child.

- Mar. 20. Mrs. Cameron, widow.
 „ 24. John Leak, belonging to the Pilot Service.
 „ 25. Diana White, an infant.
 Apl. 15. The Reverend Mr. Thomas Yate. Chaplain of the Garrison of Fort William..... If the Most extensive Benevolence and good will towards his Fellow Creatures, added to a contented, easy and quiet Disposition, could render a man happy in this World. Reader, thou hast the Satisfaction of knowing that the deceased was completely so, and no doubt but his Reward will follow him (4).
 „ 24. Mary Ann Oliphant, an infant.
 „ 24. Lewis Grant, an infant.
 „ 24. James Blow, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Capt. John Grant, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 May 12. Lieut. Lewis Reed, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 18. George Morris, an infant.
 „ 20. Mr. George Berkley, late Surgeon of the Prince William Privateer.
 „ 24. Mr. William Prime, purser of the above Ship.
 „ 28. Hugh Caine, murdered.
 „ 30. Mrs. Emilia Graves.
 „ 30. John Kefner, inhabitant.
 „ 30. John Aftone.
 Copy sent per Lively Packet. William Johnson, Chaplain.
 June 8. James Ogden, late Pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service (4).
 „ 12. Mr. Charles Moore, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Mr. Stevenson Carpenter.
 „ 15. Mrs. Jane Younge.
 „ 23. Mr. William Peters, late Commander of a country ship.
 „ 24. Mr. Oldmeadow, Assistant Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 25. Major Richard Sturgeon, late in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 27. Mr. Thomas York, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Henry Ement.
 „ 28. Charles Erskine.
 July 4. Mr. William Flaxman.
 „ 16. Mr. John Mitchell, Capt. of a country vessel.
 „ 25. Mr. George Chisum.
 „ 31. John Bolton Taylor.

(4) *Thomas Yate*—appointed junior chaplain at the Presidency on September 6, 1708 and senior chaplain on April 13, 1769. Transferred to the chaplaincy of the Garrison on December 31, 1771: and succeeded at the Presidency by Dr. James Burn, who returned to Europe on March 16, 1784. The entry is made by William Johnson who was appointed junior chaplain on January 1, 1772, and became senior chaplain in the place of Dr. Burn. For an account of Yate's capture by the French on his voyage out see Hyde's *Parish of Bengal*.

(4) Mrs. Ann Ogden, widow, married Hugh Darley on February 11, 1784. She was Hickey's landlady when he first set up house in Calcutta in 1778 (Vol. II, p. 134).

- Aug. 14. Mr. Hugh Henry.
 „ 18. Mr. John Wheatland, Free Merchant killed in a duel.
 „ 31. Gustavus Green, seaman.
 Sept. 7. John Johnson, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. Samuel Grindall, Free Merchant.
 „ 9. Mr. Charles Timings, Surgeon of the Ship *Iartar*.
 „ 11. John Roberts, seaman.
 „ 13. Francis Brampton, a child.
 „ 14. Joseph Boling.
 „ 15. Mr. William Macrae, 2nd Mate of the Resolution Indiaman.
 Oct. 19. Joseph Redshaw.
 „ 20. Richard Bell, seaman.
 „ 22. Mr. Henry Gifford, Surgeon.
 „ 25. William Grime, seaman.
 „ 28. James Hogg, taylor.
 Nov. 2. Charles Reynolds, inhabitant.
 „ 4. Mr. Archibold Crawford, merchant.
 „ 7. Mr. David Philips, Commander of a country ship.
 „ 10. Thomas Powney, Esq., inhabitant, late of Madras (5).
 „ 12. Mrs. Barclay, inhabitant.
 „ 13. Fernandes Hardam, late Master in the Pilot Service.
 „ 17. James Beecher, Esq., a Member of the Board of Trade.
 „ 18. Mr. Isaacs.
 Dec. 8. Mr. John Christie, pilot.
 „ 10. Mrs. Doughty, widow.
 „ 12. Mr. Edward Marriott, late of Culpee.

1783.

- Jan. 11. John Fraser, carpenter.
 „ 19. Samuel Deer, joiner.
 „ 29. Mrs. Murray, wife of Lieut. Robert Murray of the Cavalry.
 Feb. 3. Job Wise, a pauper from the Hospital.
 „ 4. Henry Gillespie, an infant.
 „ 10. Michael Tender, mariner.
 „ 13. Mrs. Tanner, wife of Lieut. Tanner.
 „ 22. Mr. Frederic Davy, late a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 Mar. 1. Lewis Morris, late servant to Mr. Molony (6).
 „ 4. Mr. Ephrain Welch.
 „ 22. Ann, a daughter of the late Capt. Cosby, deceased.
 „ 25. Lieut. Joseph Richards, of the Bombay Establishment.
 „ 27. Ann Bate, an infant.

(5) One of the seventeen children of Mrs. Mary Powney who died at Madras on May 7, 1780, aged "upwards of one hundred years"; see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 211. A close friend of Warren Hastings. George Powney (1779-1800), Henry Saverne Powney (1781-1785) and Edward Powney (1797-1825) were all writers on the Madras Establishment.

(6) A. Molony was Collector of Customs from 1783 to 1786.

- Mar. 28. Mr. Samuel Touchet, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (7).
- Apl. 4. Patrick Sherlock, mariner.
- „ 6. William Macdonald, servant to Mr. Petric.
- „ 8. Carolina Burgess, an infant.
- „ 12. Mr. William Mercer, mariner.
- „ 12. Mr. John Norfor, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service (8).
- „ 19. Thomas Spears, Boatswain of the Alfred Indiaman.
- „ 19. Mr. James Buchanan, 2nd officer of the Latham Indiaman.
- „ 22. Ann Dobbin, an infant.
- „ 23. John Smith.
- „ 26. Mr. Peter Crawford.
- May 1. William Bruce, Esq., a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service to which he was an ornament and example (9).
- „ 2. William Crowley, an infant.
- „ 5. Mr. John Lang, wine merchant.
- „ 5. William Goddard, gaoler.
- „ 6. Mr. Robert Robertson, carpenter.
- June 17. Elizabeth Ivory, an infant.
- „ 18. Mrs. Sarah Woorsencroft, wife of Mr. Woorsencroft, shopkeeper (10).
- July 1. Henry Walters, a child.
- „ 1. Mr. Blair, late a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
- „ 3. William Patrick, a child.
- „ 5. Mr. John Rose.
- „ 5. William Couch, carpenter.
- „ 13. Mr. Pennswick. [query: Pennyquick] late of the Madras Military Establishment.
- „ 16. Mr. Thomas Thrasker, late Commander of a country ship.
- „ 18. Samuel Piper, taylor.
- „ 26. Henry McCleod, belonging to the Pilot Service.
- Aug. 2. Frederic Stevens, cook of the Chesterfield Indiaman.
- „ 8. Mr. Lawrence Purchase, inhabitant.
- „ 10. Alexander M'Connick, constable.

(7) Civil Paymaster from 1775 to 1780. His brother Peter was also a Civil Servant : and their sister (" Bibby " Motte) married Thomas Motte and accompanied Mrs. Hastings to Europe.

(8) Both William Hickey and Mrs. Fay mention Norfor as an amateur actor. Hickey (Vol. III, p. 209), says that he excelled in female parts. Mrs. Fay (Forster's edn. p. 194), writes: " Lieut. Norfor as Belvidera [in *Venice Preserved*] shewed very superior talents. He has rather an effeminate appearance off the stage, yet I am told he is a very brave officer when on service ". See also the *Bengal Gazette* for February 7, 1781: " Mr. Norfor played Belvidera with such an amorous glow of features and utterance and was so characteristic in the description of madness as to procure (as usual) universal applause ".

(9) Adjutant-General to the Bengal Army from 1780 to 1783.

(10) Sarah Johnson, widow, married Thomas Woorsencroft on January 27, 1780.

- Aug. 13. Thomas Johnson, boatswain of the Chesterfield Indiaman.
 „ 13. Thomas Archable, late Steward of a ship.
 „ 14. James Frudd, late servant to Col. Watson.
 „ 15. James Keighly, an infant.
 „ 18. Mr. Peter Martin, Cooper.
 „ 20. Mr. Richard Thoresby, 2nd Mate of the Norfolk Indiaman.
 „ 20. Mr. John Craigie.
 „ 21. Thomas Thrasker, an infant.
 „ 24. Mrs. Ann Catharina Higgs.
 „ 27. John Johnson, late carpenter of the Hinchinbrooke Indiaman.
 Aug. 28. Thomas Poynting, Esq. Commander of the Resolution Indiaman (11).
 Copy and Duplicate sent by the Nerbudda Packet and Rodney Indiaman. Nov. Ye 28th, 1783. William Johnson, Chaplain.
- Sept. 1. Mr. Charles Smith, a member of the Unitas Fratrum.
 „ 3. William Harris, late servant to Mr. Keighly.
 „ 4. Edward Watters, an infant.
 „ 7. John Jott, late servant to the Reverend Mr. Johnson.
 „ 12. Opey Stewart, late servant to Sir John D'Oyly.
 „ 13. Naney Frenck, an infant.
 „ 15. John Horner, late a Master in the Pilot Service.
 „ 17. Mr. Lindsay, late mariner.
 „ 17. Lewis Selby, an infant.
 „ 21. Mr. William Bartley, late Deputy Commissioner of Ordnance.
 „ 22. Mr. Le Gross, a Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, who in a fit of Insanity shot himself.
 „ 23. Mary Fielder, an infant.
 „ 21. Mr. Joseph Bowadale, surgeon.
 „ 28. Lydia Lloyd, an infant.
- Oct. 1. Mr. [John] Sampson, master attendant (12).
 „ 4. Mr. Kingston, Attorney-at-Law.
 „ 6. Mrs. Dorothy Pawson.
 „ 10. George Robinson, carpenter of Norfolk Indiaman.
 „ 11. Mr. Archibald Mitchell, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Lieut. Thomas Smith.
 „ 28. Alexander Black, gunner's mate of the Barwell Indiaman.
- Nov. 5. Benjamin Wroe, Esq., late a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 7. Mr. James Pasher, cadet.
 „ 8. Mr. Francis Greenway, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Mr. Henry Stocker, belonging to the Sea Service.
 „ 15. Mr. Strahan, Surgeon's mate of the Belmont Indiaman.
 „ 15. John Jones, inhabitant.

(11) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 206-208.

(12) Master attendant from 1777 to 1783.

- Nov. 16. Mr. Thomas Edmondson, 3rd Officer of the ship *Istambol*.
 „ 18. John Jones, who several years officiated as clerk to the Chapel.
 „ 22. Robert Dince, in the employ of Mr. Herbert Harris.
 „ 23. William Gilbert, an infant.
 „ 25. John Haldman, sailor, belonging to the *Southampton* Indiaman,
 and murdered by some Portuguese sailor.
 „ 27. Edmond Le Strong, Steward of the *Talbot* Indiaman.
 „ 28. Mr. Robt. Wheler, late chief mate of the *Ann* and *Amelia*
 country ship.
 „ 29. Jeremiah Holland, late an officer on board the *Success* a country
 ship.
 „ 30. Margaret Whitaker, inhabitant.
 Dec. 3. John Nicholls, late servant to Mr. William Johnson.
 „ 4. John Ewen, late Commander of a country vessel.
 „ 4. Peter Stratton, seaman.
 „ 4. Charles Stewart, seaman belonging to the *Lord Macartney* India-
 man.
 „ 4. Archibold Johnson, late in the employ of Mr. Griffith.
 „ 7. Samuel Lawley, servant to Capt. Morgan.
 „ 7. Peter Pigou, Esq., late Commander of the *Blanford* Indiaman.
 „ 8. Mr. John Combers, watchmaker.
 „ 9. Charles Vanrixtell, an infant (13).
 „ 10. James Pearson, an infant.
 „ 12. Richard Roberts, ship carpenter.
 „ 13. William Keates, seaman.
 „ 12. Lieut. Andrew Lymes, of the Artillery.
 „ 13. John Hunt, seaman murdered by a European Portuguese sailor.
 „ 14. Mr. Brydges Kearney, a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military
 Service.
 „ 14. Thomas Morse, seaman.
 „ 17. Mr. Favell Wordsworth, a gentleman belonging to the Madras
 Establishment (14).
 „ 24. Joseph Kator, seaman. Shot by an accident.
 „ 26. John Williams, of the Pilot Service.
 „ 26. Mrs. Hickey, wife of Mr. Hickey. Attorney-at-Law (15).

1784.

- Jan. 3. John Latham, baker, belonging to the *Talbot* Indiaman.
 „ 5. Eliza Beanland, an infant.

(13) Son of Alexander Vanrixtell, Sheriff in 1780, and member of the Board of Trade, who died in Calcutta on January 16, 1785.

(14) Aged 23. Writer at Fort Saint George 1777: factor 1782. Brother of James Wordsworth, Paymaster of the Patna Militia. His grave in the South Park Street cemetery is next to Charlotte Hickey's.

(15) Charlotte Barry: the "wife" of the author of the *Memoirs*,

- Jan. 6. Mr. Anthony Bird.
 „ 6. Alexander Frothingham.
 „ 9. Lewis Griffiths, an infant.
 „ 10. Mr. Satchell, late an Attorney-at-Law.
 „ 12. Alexander Ruston, seaman.
 „ 20. Mr. Jeremiah Baker, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Mrs. Mary Chapman.
 „ 30. Augustus Cleveland, Esq., Collector of Baughlepore; the India Company by his death sustains the loss of a Faithful and Experienced servant. His civilization of a numerous race of people from a state of Barbarity accompanied with every act of violation which the military had long in vain attempted to suppress, evinces the humane, very amiable character of the deceased (16).
- Copy and Duplicate sent home. William Johnson, Chaplain.
- Feb. 12. John Young, seaman belonging to a country vessel.
 „ 12. William Rouch, seaman belonging to the Bessborough Indiaman.
 Mar. 13. John Jackson, an infant.
 „ 13. George Craig, seaman belonging to a country ship.
 „ 23. Mrs. Henryetta Rutter.
 „ 23. Mrs. Castleman.
 „ 27. Capt. Robt. Grotts Wallace Johnson, of the Engineers.
 „ 30. Rowland Jackson, Esq., Physician (17).
 Apl. 5. Christopher William Perkins, Ensign.
 „ 18. Mr. George Arnold Roote, inhabitant.
 „ 18. John Clargo, late servant to Mr. Belli.
 „ 19. Mr. Bryant Troughton.
 May 5. William May, taylor belonging to the Bessborough Indiaman.
 „ 12. John Thomas, sergeant.
 „ 21. Mr. Thomas Morris.
 „ 22. Thomas Wright, seaman.
 „ 22. Mr. Blackwell, inhabitant.
 „ 27. David Spencer, an infant.
 „ 29. James Burrell, an infant.
 „ 30. John Smith, inhabitant.
 June 7. Alexander Nicoll, carpenter (18).
 „ 11. Ann, wife of William Bodle, blacksmith.

(16) Cleveland died on board the *Atlas* Indiaman on reaching the Sandheads. He was on his way to the Cape in search of health. Mrs. Hastings was a fellow-passenger. The body was taken to Calcutta for burial.

(17) See the letters of Mrs. Fay (Forster's edn., p. 188): "Dr. Jackson is physician to the Company (1780) and in very high practice besides. The Doctor's Lady is a native of Jamaica and like those 'children of the Sun', frank and hospitable to a degree".

(18) Note: The entries from this point are signed by Thomas Blanshard, Chaplain. William Johnson became senior chaplain in this year (1784).

- June 16. Frederic Lampe, merchant.
 „ 19. Mr. Angus Macpherson, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 19. Benjamin Thomas, a seaman.
 „ 22. Andrew Berger, a Danish seaman.
 „ 29. Richard Cradlestone, mariner.
 July 5. William Cragg, late a cadet.
 „ 6. Francis Atkinson, ensign from Madras.
 „ 10. Charlott Sophia Daughter of Samuel Greenway, sailmaker.
 „ 11. Lieut. Donald Grant in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 11. Christopher Smith, seaman.
 „ 14. Edward Stephenson, Esq., a member of the Board of Trade (19).
 „ 14. Peter Allen, seaman.
 „ 29. John Johnson, a seaman.
 „ 31. Kenneth Murchisson, ship carpenter to the Hon'ble Company.
 Aug. 1. Jacob Phillips, a Danish seaman.
 „ 1. John, son of John Story, a cook.
 „ 1. Niel Hendrickson, a Danish seaman.
 „ 3. Peter Cumming, Surgeon's mate of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 3. William Donald, Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 4. Richard Lawless, late a Lieut. in His Majesty's Service.
 „ 7. William Thomas, son of William Walton, a cook.
 „ 8. James Murdoch, Ships' Steward of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 9. Charles Connell, merchant.
 „ 12. Eliza, an infant daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macpherson and Eliza his wife (19).
 „ 22. Adam Stark, auctioneer.
 „ 24. John Little, a bailiff.
 „ 24. Benjamin Kampholt, a Danish seaman.
 „ 26. William Burnett, Surgeon in the Company's service.
 „ 27. Walter Harper, watchmaker.
 „ 27. Jonat Lundberg, a seaman.
 Sept. 4. George, infant illegitimate son of the late George Bogle, Esq.
 „ 10. George Wright, Coopers Mate, of the Southampton Indiaman.
 „ 10. Conreid Nordenfeldt, seaman of the Princess Royal a Danish ship.
 „ 16. Captain Bennet Hoskyns.
 „ 22. Elizabeth, infant daughter of Mr. Page Keble, Marine paymaster, and Elizabeth his wife (20).
 Oct. 2. Mr. Alexander Armstrong, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Edward Groves, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Elizabeth, wife of John Bignel. Commander of the Eliza Snow.

(19) Commercial Chief and President at Patna, 1783.

(20) Page Keble was Marine Paymaster from 1775 to 1785. His first wife Christiana, died on July 21, 1777: and he married Elizabeth Metham on July 3, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 145.

- Oct. 8. William Johnson, coach maker (21).
 „ 9. Roger Webb, midshipman of an Indiaman.
 „ 11. Edward Wheler, Esq., first in the Supreme Council (22).
 „ 15. James, infant son of Godliss Crahle, inhabitant (23).
 „ 18. Neels Pedersen Schiot, a Danish seaman.
 „ 19. John Ludwig, a Danish seaman.
 „ 23. Thomas Hinds, Lieut. in His Majesty's 101st Regiment.
 „ 25. Thomas Foy, seaman.
 „ 27. Mr. John Job, 3rd mate of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 29. Mr. William Smith, assistant surgeon.
- Nov. 1. John Smedley, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 3. Marcus Blomstrand, a Danish seaman.
 „ 4. James Nairn, ship's Steward of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Charles Robartes, a lunatic from the Insane House.
 „ 9. Mr. James Macqueen. Ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 10. Alexander Webster, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 10. Jacob Cormantung, a Danish seaman.
 „ 10. John Beck, steward of the Insane House.
 „ 17. Alexander Shaw, gunner's mate of the Hillsborough
 „ 17. Henry, infant son of Capt. William Wilson.
 „ 19. Mr. David Haldane, Lieut. A lunatic of a Insane House.
 „ 19. John Lever, a taylor.
 „ 19. James Grey, boatswain of the Vansittart Indiaman.
 „ 20. Thomas Williams, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 22. Robert Yeoman, a pilot.
 „ 24. George Middlewood, shopkeeper.
 „ 24. John Brown, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 25. James Dixon, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 27. John Harper, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 27. Walter Boye, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 27. Mrs. Sabina Peacock, widow (24).

(21) Lived in Mission Row: see letter from him to his mother quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 203 s.v. Lewis Selby.

(22) The inscription upon his tomb in South Park Street cemetery record that he was the third son of Sir Edward Wheler, Bart., of Leamington Hastings in the county of Warwick. He was fifty-one at the time of his death.

(23) This curious surname occurs in the marriage register. Charles Pickman, monthly writer in the office of Ordnance, married Elizabeth Crahley on January 14, 1785.

(24) See letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, p. 352. Her husband Francis Peacock, had been the Agent for the Company for the purchase of naval stores. Mrs. Peacock and her daughter (who was also named Sabina) had come out to Bengal at the end of 1782 to recover what they could from the wreck of Mr. Peacock's fortune. They were recommended to Hastings by Barwell and his sister Mary, and also by Scott Waring. Hastings mentions the death of Mrs. Peacock at the end of a letter written to his wife from Calcutta on November 20, 1784: "Mrs. Peacock is dead and left the charge of placing her daughter, on my conscience. But Larkins and his excellent little Wife have relieved me by taking her into their house which is already filled with other Objects of their compassion, and are both affectionately kind to her". The young lady however, gave a good deal of trouble not only to Larkins, but to Hastings who

- Dec. 1. David Bulger, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 1. Thomas Dobson, seaman of the same ship.
 „ 2. William Wilson, gunner of the same ship.
 „ 3. John Goodwin, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 3. John Muir, gunner's servant of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 5. William Montague, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 6. Alexander Mills, midshipman of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 7. Mr. Thomas Miller, surgeon of the Camden Indiaman.
 „ 7. Charles Mcbean, a seaman.
 „ 9. William Bradley, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 9. Mr. Isaac Baldwin, chief mate of the Camden.
 „ 13. Allen Manayhorn, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 15. Mr. George Harrison, surgeon of the Establishment.
 „ 15. William Skelton, gunner's mate of the Valentine.
 „ 15. James, an infant son of Thomas Quarterman, inhabitant.
 „ 17. Robert Pickering, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 17. Charlota, an infant daughter of Michael Derozio Portuguese Protestant.
 „ 18. William Hoster, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 18. John King, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 20. Mrs. White, widow. * A poor lunatic.
 „ 21. James William Payne, a Lieut. in the King's Service.
 „ 23. Thomas Ross, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 23. Mary Evans, an infant.
 „ 23. Eleanor Miers, an infant.
 „ 25. James Lambeth Oldham, gentleman of the Valentine.
 „ 27. Richard Overend, monthly writer to Mr. William Camac.
 „ 29. George Wilkinson, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 30. Thomas Green, aged about twelve years of the Camden.
 „ 30. James Rayner, a constable.

N.B.—A copy and duplicate of the Register of Burials for the year 1784 were sent to the Court of Directors by the Berrington and Hillsborough Indiamen. T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785.

- Jan. 1. Mr. James Nichols, purser of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 1. Mr. Thomas Pye James, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. William Barnes, from the Insane House
 „ 11. Thomas Quarterman, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 24. Richard Dean, inhabitant.
 „ 26. Mr. John Taylor, tailor.

provided her with an allowance. Eventually on May 10, 1790, she married Francis Pierard junior merchant, "a young man in the service of Good Character", whom we find at Midnapore as Collector in 1795, and at Chittagong in the same office from 1797 to 1800. He can be identified with the "F. Pierard", whose name appears on the cup presented to Westminster School in 1777 by old boys in Calcutta.

- Jan. 26. Richard Woodmas, inhabitant.
- Feb. 4. William Aldridge, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
- „ 20. Thomas Robinson, a boy from the Charity School.
- „ 26. Mr. Hugh Castleman, senior pilot in the Company's Service (25).
- Mar. 1. John Brown, a pauper.
- „ 4. Edward Vaughan, inhabitant.
- „ 5. Mary Theresa Madec, an infant.
- „ 21. Mrs. Martha Goodlad, wife of Richard Goodlad, Esq. Sen, merchant (26).
- „ 24. Thomas Jones, a seaman.
- Apl. 6. Samuel Barnet, inhabitant.
- „ 7. John, an infant. Illegitimate son of Capt. John McClary.
- „ 8. Henry Lister, a seaman.
- „ 13. Mr. James Robert Wadeson, Attorney-at-Law.
- „ 14. Mr. Jones Broganer, officer of a Danish ship.
- „ 23. John James, an infant son of Mr. James Hennes, inhabitant.
- „ 26. Samuel Noon, Farrier.
- May 1. Mrs. Elizabeth Crisp, widow.
- „ 3. Ann, an infant daughter of Robert White, mariner.
- „ 5. Samuel Edington, a boy aged twelve years.
- „ 8. Mary Rayner, spinster a poor woman.
- „ 29. Francis Sloan, chief mate of the Fortune a country ship.
- June 10. Samuel Stewart, a poor inhabitant.
- „ 23. Charles Gardner, carpenter.
- „ 28. William Mainwaring, servant to Messrs. Gordon and Hay, Printers.
- July 1. John Kinnety, a youth, son of Mr. John Kinnety, inhabitant.
- „ 3. Charles Short, Esq., free merchant (27).
- „ 5. Joseph, an infant son of Mr. James Savage.
- „ 7. William Rye, blacksmith.
- „ 14. Richard Dunlop, ship carpenter.
- „ 16. Daniel Beate Cook.
- „ 16. Alexander Moore, mariner.
- „ 21. John Cartwright, infant son of Mr. John Baxter and Mary Ann his wife.
- „ 21. Mr. Robert Gooland, Cooper.
- „ 21. Andrew Forbes, Seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 21. Charles, infant son of Mr. Charles Munro, inhabitant.
- „ 23. Henry Wilson, inhabitant.
- „ 28. William Shields, seaman in the pilot service.

(25) Hugh Castleman married Caroline Jennings on December 21, 1784. His first wife Mary Lamb whom he married on July 14, 1772, died on March 23, 1784.

(26) Richard Goodlad was Collector of Rungpore from 1782 to 1787 and Salt Agent for the 24-Pergunnahs from 1790 to 1800. Married Martha Redfearn on November 15, 1784.

(27) Name-father of Short Street and Shorts Bazar in Calcutta. He was an extensive owner of land and house-property.

- July 28. Eleanor, wife of George Williamson, Esq., Vendumaster (28).
 „ 31. Leonard Dobbin, inhabitant.
 Aug. 4. John Salthouse, coachman to Mr. Treves.
 „ 4. Michael Sloane, constable.
 „ 9. Ann, an infant. Illegitimate daughter of Capt. William Richardson.
 „ 14. William Saunders, bailife.
 „ 15. John Macmin, watchmaker.
 „ 25. Mr. Henry Shearman, Commander of a country ship.
 „ 28. Richard Shepperd, inhabitant.
 „ 29. George Scott, servant to Capt. William Collings.
 Sept. 4. Frances Davis, a female infant.
 „ 4. James Arnott, auctioneer.
 „ 8. Lieut. Robert Leslie of His Majesty's 44th Regiment.
 „ 9. Mr. John Wordie, merchant.
 „ 11. John Decayne, mariner.
 „ 15. George Welch, shipwright.
 „ 21. Robert Edmondson, Tavern-keeper.
 „ 28. Mr. Samuel Pawson, free merchant.
 „ 28. Richard McVeagh, Esq., master in Chancery (29).
 Oct. 3. Mr. George Gardner, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. Robert Howitt, surgeon.
 „ 10. Simon, son of John Hollow, a monthly writer.
 „ 15. Eleanora, daughter of Mr. Hugh Honeycomb and Eleanora his wife.
 „ 22. Charles Churchill, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor-General (30).
 „ 23. Charles Pickman, infant son of Charles Pickman monthly writer (31).
 „ 24. Mr. David Killican, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (32).
 „ 25. John, an infant illegitimate son of Capt. John Collins.
 „ 27. John Story, coachman to Mr. Plowden.
 Nov. 8. Mr. Joseph Gaskell, a monthly writer.
 „ 10. Robert Moore, a seaman.
 „ 13. Mr. William Wilson, Sergeant Major of supernumeraries.
 „ 15. Mr. M. L. Kelly, a monthly writer.

(28) For a note on George Williamson, who was a very old inhabitant of Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 209. He married Eleanor Howett on Dec. 26, 1761.

(29) Appointed jointly with William Magee to be Master and Accountant-General upon the establishment of the Supreme Court on October 22, 1774.

(30) Acted as Private Secretary to Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Hastings.

(31) See note (23).

(32) Had been Secretary to the Board of Trade. Described also in the records as a "Salt Merchant" signed the Merchants' petition to the Council on September 22, 1778, asking for protection against French privateers in the Straits of Malacca.

- Nov. 18. Robert Young, an infant.
 „ 20. Phebe, wife of Lieut. Edward Rowland Jackson (33).
 „ 21. Mr. Charles Baker, Commander of a country vessel.
 Dec. 8. Mr. George Brooksbank, tailor.
 „ 9. Edward Hesketh, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (34).
 „ 12. Draper, a seaman.
 „ 13. Mr. Thomas Scott, 4th officer of the Montague Indiaman.
 „ 18. Mr. Samuel Weller, Commander of the Snow Amazon.
 „ 30. William Sands, seaman in the pilot service.

N.B.—A copy and duplicate of the Register of Burials for the year 1785 were transmitted to the Court of Directors by the King George and Dublin Indiamen.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1786.

- Jan. 4. William Hall, a monthly writer.
 „ 5. Mr. Evans, lately belonging to the Dublin Indiaman.
 „ 5. James Bruce, lately belonging to the Fox Packet.
 „ 7. John Henry Stork, an infant.
 „ 21. Mrs. Anne Scholfield, inhabitant.
 Feb. 4. John Feney, 2nd officer of a country vessel.
 „ 7. Hugh Hunter, officer of the Speedwell, a country vessel.
 „ 21. Mr. Jackson, a monthly writer.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Clarke, an infant.
 „ 27. Major-General William Ogle, in His Majesty's Service (35).
 Mar. 4. Mr. Charles McClary, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Charles Woolen, servant to Mr. Burgh.
 „ 10. Thomas Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Mr. William Oulton, a monthly writer.
 „ 22. William Martin, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Mr. Alexander Thompson, inhabitant.
 „ 31. Elizabeth Clarke, inhabitant.
 Apl. 2. Lieut. Charles Macdonald.
 „ 5. Angus McKay, from the Hospital.
 „ 11. George Guthrie. From do. late a seaman of the Dublin Indiaman.
 „ 16. Helen, an infant daughter of Thomas Graham, Esq., and Ann his wife.
 „ 22. Lieut. Henry Evans.
 May 23. Mr. James Arthur, a surgeon.

(33) Aged 24. Her tablet is among those affixed to the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery. For her father-in-law Dr. Rowland Jackson: see note (17) Phoebe Tuting married Edward Rowland Jackson on January 28, 1779.

(34) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 1784.

(35) General Ogle had come up to Bengal from Madras to procure an early passage to England on one of the Company's ships.

- June 3. Henry an infant son of Mr. Henry Swinhoe, Attorney-at-Law and his wife Jane.
- „ 6. Mr. Thomas Collier, 3rd officer of the Success Galley.
- „ 11. Mrs. Mary Hennes, wife of Mr. Hennes, inhabitant.
- „ 14. Mr. William White, late a mariner.
- „ 18. Mr. James Burnet, mate of a country vessel.
- „ 21. Maria Charlotte, an infant daughter of John Addison, Esq. and Lucy his wife (36).
- „ 26. Thomas Pallis, seaman.
- „ 30. Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer, wife of Capt. Charles Hamey Palmer (37).
- July 9. Mr. Charles Munro, a monthly writer.
- „ 14. Robert Palmer, seaman of the Manship Indiaman.
- „ 19. Mr. James H. Kennedy, chief officer of a country vessel.
- „ 24. John Williams, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 28. Mr. William Watts, pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
- Aug. 5. Mr. Peter Sivewright, Commander of the fancy sloop.
- „ 6. Richard Stephenson from the hospital.
- „ 8. Frances Richardson, widow from the hospital.
- „ 12. Mr. Charles Grant, auctioneer.
- „ 12. Charles, an infant illegitimate son of Lieut. Wyatt of the Engineer Corps (40).
- „ 12. John Brown, seaman.
- „ 12. Mr. William Phillips Williams, school master.
- „ 18. Mr. Edward Boulton, from the hospital.
- „ 19. John Green, mariner.
- „ 22. John Marchall, seaman.
- „ 22. John Cockerell, blacksmith.
- „ 23. John Feely, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 24. Mr. John Pennry, carpenter of the Manship.
- „ 24. Ensign George Staunton.
- „ 24. Henry Mitchell, an infant.
- „ 29. Thomas, an infant son of Frances Gladwin, Esq. and Sarah his wife (41).
- „ 31. Mr. Alexander Raney, boatswain of the Ganges Indiaman.
- Sept. 2. Joseph Kinder, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 4. Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, one of the matrons of the Orphan School.

(36) John Addison married Lucy Clark on September 8, 1784. He was head assistant to "Bob Pott" at Moorshedabad and quarrelled violently with him. See Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 329.

(37) Capt. Charles Hamey Palmer married Elizabeth Macevoy on Nov. 19, 1784.

(40) Charles Wyatt was transferred from the Infantry to the Engineer Corps as a Lieut. in 1781: and retired in 1806. He prepared the plans for Wellesley's new Government and also for the projected-palace at Barrackpore. In one of Wellesley's letters to Grenville he is described as a nephew of James Wyatt R.A. whose election as President of the Royal Academy George the Third refused to confirm.

(41) Francis Gladwin, the well-known oriental scholar—married Sarah Alexander, on July 11, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 206.

- Sept. 4. John Sherring, carpenter of the Talbot Indiaman.
 „ 4. William Fudge, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 8. Mrs. Jane McClary, wife of Mr. McClary, merchant (42).
 „ 8. Mr. Anthony Gay, pilot in the service.
 „ 9. Mr. Stephen Bagshaw, Attorney-at-Law (43).
 „ 10. Mrs. Mary Herbert, wife of John Herbert, Esq. (44).
 „ 11. John Mathew, blacksmith.
 „ 13. Mr. Lewis Wells, ensign by Brevet in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 13. Daniel Grant, seaman of the Manship Indiaman.
 „ 15. Mr. Joseph Cross, gunner of the William Pitt, Indiaman.
 „ 15. Mr. William Duffin, mate of the True Briton a country vessel.
 „ 15. Mr. John Soxell, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Ezra Simmons, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 17. John Harrison, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 17. John Steanes, seaman of the Phoenix Indiaman.
 „ 19. Mr. William Wright, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Robert Gardener, seaman of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 21. Ensign George Gordon.
 „ 22. Mr. Robert Windsor, merchant.
 „ 22. Mr. James Germaine, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Mr. George Davis, Midshipman of the Talbot Indiaman.
 Oct. 1. William Laverack, seaman of the Manship.
 „ 4. Mr. Outherwith Maudsley, midshipman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 7. Henry Vansittart, Esq. Sen. Merchant in the Hon'ble Comapny's Service (45).
 „ 8. John Carr, a pauper from the hospital.
 „ 9. Thomas Davis, seaman of the William Pitt.
 „ 12. George Cook, tailor.
 „ 12. Thomas Lee, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 14. William Burkin, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 15. William Macleod, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 19. Charles Hubbert, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 21. Laurence Johnston, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 22. Henry Dougherty, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (46).

(42) John McClary, merchant, married Jane Morgan on Feb. 4, 1786.

(43) Stephen Bagshaw acted as Sheriff during part of 1784. There is a reference to him in Mr. Justice Hyde's Note book (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 58). On Jan. 23, 1782, he presented a petition from James Augustus Hickey, a prisoner on judgment against him for libels on the Governor-General, in which complaint was made of difficulties in procuring advocates and attorneys. Hickey was in custody and the petition was put in by Bagshaw as "a deputy of the Sheriff".

(44) John Herbert was Chief of the Factory on Balemangan island to the North of Borneo in 1772: and afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island. A. W. Devis painted a portrait of him at Calcutta in 1791. This was presented to the British Museum by Admiral Benjamin, W. Page, and transferred to the National Portrait Gallery in 1879.

(45) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213.

(46) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court in November, 1784.

- Oct. 23. John Binns, an infant.
 „ 25. Mr. John Powell Styles, a clerk in the General Bank.
 „ 26. William Smith, seaman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 26. Mr. William Webb, inhabitant.
 „ 26. John Watkins, seaman of the William Pitt.
 „ 31. James Atkinson, seaman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 31. Alexander Blair, an infant.
- Nov. 6. William Young, seaman of the Talbot Indiaman.
 „ 6. Cornelius Connor, seaman of the Phœnix.
 „ 7. Robert Ellis, seaman of the Swallow Packet.
 „ 7. Mr. Amos Maywood, carpenter.
 „ 8. Mr. William Gunn, carpenter.
 „ 14. Mr. William Gardiner, assistant Surgeon in the Company's service.
 „ 17. Mr. Grace Edwards, single woman.
 „ 19. William, an infant son of Mr. Robert Arthur Pritchard and Sarah his wife.
 „ 20. William Stanley, mariner from the Hospital.
 „ 20. Thomas Enson, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 24. Sophia, an infant daughter of Mr. Lewis Selby and wife.
 „ 29. Edward, an infant natural son of Herbert Harris, Esq. (47).
- Dec. 1. Mary, an infant daughter of Mr. Edward Candler, carpenter.
 „ 2. James Williamson, Esq., Commander of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 3. John Cook, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 4. Joseph Tucker, seaman of the Phœnix.
 „ 4. Christopher Kiley, seaman of the Lansdown.
 „ 5. James Barry, a youth aged about sixteen years.
 „ 5. William Thompson, seaman of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 8. Mr. John Davis, Assistant Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 13. William, an infant. Natural son of Capt. Thomas Cust of the sepoy.
 „ 14. Mr. John Phillips, a monthly writer.
 „ 18. William Saunders, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 21. John Martin, an infant.
 „ 21. Thomas Simpson, a Sheriff's Officer.
 „ 28. John Rutherford, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 28. Mr. Scabrer, from the Gaol.
 „ 29. Mr. William Woodcock, watchmaker.
 A copy was sent home by the Berrington and a Duplicate by the Oxford.—T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1787.

- Jan. 2. Miss Lucy Boswell, spinster.
 „ 2. Ann Forster, spinster.

(47) Herbert Harris was Sheriff in 1781 and Mint Master in 1785: and died in Calcutta on January 22, 1810, aged 68. He was "forty-five years in the Service."

- Jan. 8. Alexander Marno, from the Hospital.
 „ 9. Thomas Welham, from the same.
 „ 10. Peter Pedro, late servant to John Stables, Esq.
 „ 11. Mr. Edmund Bengough. Apothecary-General in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 12. Mr. John Gardiner, Attorney-at-Law.
 „ 18. Mr. John McCulloch, mate of a country vessel.
 „ 22. Mr. John Greenfield, tailor.
 „ 29. Charlotte Ellers, an infant.
 Feb. 6. Mr. Allen Stewart, a tailor.
 „ 15. Mr. Edward Mucklestone, carpenter.
 Mar. 8. Mr. John Hay, printer of the India Gazette.
 „ 16. Jonathan Bell, from the Hospital.
 „ 17. Mr. James Grey, musician.
 „ 19. Lieut. Samuel Hamilton, late in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 25. Richard Hughs, from the Hospital.
 „ 27. Mr. Joseph Shepperd, engraver and jeweller.
 Apl. 12. Thomas De Pau, from the Hospital.
 „ 13. Maria, the wife of John Smith, inhabitant.
 „ 15. Miss Janet Balfour, an infant daughter of Dr. Francis Balfour and Emily his wife (48).
 „ 21. Miss Margaret Auchterlony, an orphan aged about 14 years.
 „ 26. Mr. George Drake, Lieut. in the Bombay Marine (49).
 „ 26. James Oke, from the Hospital.
 May 1. Mrs. Mary Joys, wife of Mr. John Joys, shopkeeper (50).
 „ 6. Mr. John Sturdy, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 12. Abraham Roebuck, Esq. Second Supracargo at China.
 „ 16. Norman, son of Lewis Selby and Meheatable his wife.
 „ 19. Mr. John Jerwin. Inhabitant, he shot himself in a fit of lunacy.
 „ 20. Mr. George Mainwaring Kenderdine, Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service (51).
 „ 17. Mrs. Elizabeth Glegg, wife of Capt. Glegg, Commander of a country ship.
 „ 26. Mr. John Porter, a debtor from the gaol.
 „ 30. Mr. Benjamin Gibbons. Attorney-at-Law, killed in a duel (52).
 June 5. Mr. James Clarke, from the Civil Hospital.

(48) Francis Balfour joined the Bengal Medical establishment in 1769 and retired as first member of the Medical Board in 1807 when he settled at Edinburgh. He was an intimate friend of Warren Hastings and corresponded with him from Benares. Author of "The Forms of Herkern, a Persian Letter-writer".

(49) George Drake, of the Bombay Marine, married Charlotte Greentree in Calcutta on November 26, 1786.

(50) John Joys, Shopkeeper, married Mary Webster on March 7, 1782, and Sarah Simpson on December 1, 1787. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 204. One of the owners of the Harmonic Tavern.

(51) Gave his name to Kenderdine's Lane in Calcutta.

(52) The duel was fought with Thomas Andrews "one of the Proprietors of the Library". See *Calcutta Gazette* of May 31, 1787. Gibbons was "killed on the spot".

- June 11. James Glegg, an infant of Capt. and Mrs. Glegg.
 „ 11. David Dixon, a seaman.
 „ 20. Mr. Alexander McLure, ship's carpenter.
 „ 26. Mr. William Clarke, mate of a country ship.
 „ 28. Mr. Alexander, inhabitant.
- July 1. Eugene Macdonagh, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 6. Mr. James Cummings Maitland, midshipman of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 12. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. James Augustus Hickey Printer (53).
 „ 12. Mr. Thomas Pate, mariner.
 „ 14. Lewis Dawson, seaman.
 „ 16. John Wedderburne, Esq. Lieut.-Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 17. Mrs. Susanna Ramsay, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. James Berry, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 24. Mr. Norman Shaw, inhabitant.
- Aug. 4. Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Lewis Manly, inhabitant (54).
 „ 4. Mr. Thomas Drummond, ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 6. Alexander Donaldson, from the Hospital.
 „ 8. William Walker, inhabitant.
 „ 10. John Macdonald, Captain's cook of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 15. Isaac Cowdle, from the Hospital.
 „ 16. Henry Little, seaman of the *Henry Dundas* Indiaman.
 „ 20. William Cobbs, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 20. Capt. Samuel Hunt. Commander of the 4th Battalion of sepoy in the Company's Service.
 „ 21. Mr. Thomas Overend, a monthly writer.
 „ 21. John Williamson, coachman and Livery stable keeper.
 „ 22. Mr. Adam Cranstone, master pilot.
 „ 23. Mr. Robert Anderson, purser of the *Princess Royal* Indiaman.
 „ 24. Lieut. Richard Parry, of the Hon'ble Company's sepoy.
 „ 25. John Perkins, from the hospital.
- Sept. 1. Mr. John Lovejoy, mariner warehouse keeper.
 „ 1. Mr. Robert Nunn. Captain's Steward of the *Atlas* Indiaman.
 „ 3. William Newham, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 6. William Brown, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 7. Carl Barry, a seaman belonging to a Danish ship.
 „ 7. Thomas, an infant son of William Ledlie, Attorney-at-Law and Ann his wife.
 „ 8. John Fyfe, seaman of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 11. Mr. Hollis, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 12. David Jacks, seaman of the *Camden* Indiaman.

(53) See article by Sir William Foster: *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, pp. 123-127.

(54) Elizabeth Charley married Lewis Manly on May 8, 1787. He re-married on October 7, 1790, his second wife being Ann De Bruyn.

- Sept. 14. Mr. Peter Valentine, pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 17. Mr. Ray, of the Britannia Indiaman from the Hospital.
 „ 18. James Harsammon, a Danish seaman.
 „ 19. Mr. George Hush, shipwright.
 „ 20. William Peters, seaman of the Britannia.
 „ 23. Nathaniel Pannell, a seaman.
 Oct. 1. Rosetta, wife of Mr. Thomas Meredith, Steward of the Civil Hospital.
 „ 4. Mr. Samuel Greenway, officer of a Danish ship.
 „ 4. Thomas Chambers, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 „ 6. Mr. Henry Ridley, third mate of the Britannia Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Duncan Man, sergeant in the Governor-General's Body-guard.
 „ 9. Mr. Robert Hays, tavern keeper.
 „ 12. Mr. Innes D. Hamilton, midshipman of the Henry Dundas Indiaman.
 „ 12. Mr. Peter Moodie, mate in the pilot service.
 „ 13. Mr. James Balnabes, Cooper.
 „ 14. Mr. William Donaldson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. Thomas Macbride, midshipman.
 „ 25. Mr. Joseph Harwood, late a butcher.
 „ 26. Mr. Duncan Stewart, midshipman of the Minerva Indiaman.
 „ 30. Mr. John Thompson, a monthly writer.
 „ 31. Mr. Michael Anderson, a monthly writer.
 „ 31. William Rawlings, seaman of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 Nov. 4. Mr. John Burney, tailor.
 „ 5. Henry Duckworth, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 8. Mr. Thomas Henry Bourke, tailor.
 „ 11. Roger Mackenzie, seaman of the Henry Dundas.
 „ 12. Charles Collier, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 12. Mrs. Mary Keighley, wife of James Inglish Keighley, Esq. (55).
 „ 25. Mr. Alexander Wingate, midshipman of the Busbridge Indiaman.
 „ 26. Mr. Hezekiah Delany, printer.
 „ 28. Louisa Fidelia, wife of Mr. Robert Hollier, Church Clerk.
 „ 30. Mr. Robert Veel, 4th mate of the Lord Camden Indiaman.
 „ 30. George Allen, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 Dec. 6. Mr. Solomon Gunter, seaman of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Pyne, 6th mate of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 „ 10. David Rees, seaman of the Minerva Indiaman.

(55) The tomb in the South Park Street cemetery bears the following inscription, "Juxta cineres Filii Iacobi/Maria Keighly/Uxor et Deliciae Iacobi Inglish Keighly/Armigeri: in Expectatione Diei Supremae/Hic jacet. Qualis erat/Ista Dies Indicabit. obit 11 Nov./Anno Dom.: 1787. Aetatis Suae 32".

Maria Higgins married James Inglish Keighley in Calcutta on May 17, 1777. He soon consoled himself for her loss: for he married Sarah Christiana Peach on Feb. 21, 1788. There is much gossip about the Keighleys in Hickey's Memoirs: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 154-155, where it is summarized.

- Dec. 10. John Haswell, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 12. Mr. Robert Ord, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 12. Charles Benjamin Beasley, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Kenneth McKinnon, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 16. Robert Mason, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 „ 19. Mr. Edward Baillie, a monthly writer.
 „ 19. Robert Wallace, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 21. Mr. William Stibbs, second officer of the Britannia Indiaman.
 „ 23. Mr. John Stainsbury, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 23. Joseph Grant, seaman.
 „ 27. Mr. James Jervis, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Michael Doule, seaman of the Jufrow Maria Dutch ship.
N.B.—A copy of the Register of Burials for 1787 was sent home
 15th January 1788, by the Thetis Indiaman. T. Blanshard,
 Chaplain.

1788.

- Jan. 1. Ann Eyers, an infant daughter of ensign William Leadbeater and
 his wife Mary.
 „ 5. Mrs. Helena Broadbrook, widow.
 „ 9. Hendrick, son of Mr. Frederick Deatker (56).
 „ 12. John Johnson, a boy from the Charity School.
 „ 13. Mr. Benjamin Sparling, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. John Paxman, a constable of the Supreme Court.
 Feb. 3. Mr. Michael Derozio, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. James Taylor, accomptant to the Military Board.
 „ 9. Thomas Watson, an infant.
 „ 10. William Steptoe, a boy from the Charity School.
 „ 26. John Staples, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 26. Thomas, an infant natural son of Capt. George French.
 Mar. 2. Samuel Bowers, merchant.
 „ 13. Ellen Margaret Whinyates, daughter of Lieut. Tho. Whinyates
 and his wife Catherine.
 „ 22. Mr. Birch, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 23. Michael Anderson, a seaman.

(56) *Frederick Deatker*, the father, died on December 15, 1812, "in the Calcutta gaol" (Calcutta Directory for 1813). William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 247) describes him as a Sheriff's Officer, "by birth a Dane, a daring savage kind of fellow whom from a ferocity of manner and being remarkably ill-looking I had always greatly disliked." Hickey was then (1784) Deputy Sheriff. He goes on to say that "from some irregularities I had detected him in I would long ago have dismissed him the office, but that in those days we found it extremely difficult to procure any sort of European to act in the capacity of bailiff". Deatker was also a constable and was "considered the best of the whole set, which made him a favourite with the judges and more especially so with Mr. Justice Hyde". An account follows (Chapter XVIII) of "a perversion of justice is an extraordinary case" before Hyde, in which Deatker proceeded against two clients of Hickey, Mr. George Tyler, who had been assistant Secretary to Sir Eyre Coote and was at the time "paymaster to the Madras detachment", and Captain Griffin, of the Madras native cavalry.

- Mar. 25. The Hon'ble Lockhart Gordon, Barrister-at-Law (57).
 Apl. 6. Mr. Thomas Walton, inhabitant.
 „ 11. Peter Murray, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 11. Barney Brown, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 21. Charlotte, daughter of Major Charles Russell Deare and Catherine his wife (58).
 „ 22. John Le Bros, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 23. Richard Powers, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 28. Mr. Joseph Brown, a tailor retired from business.
 „ 28. Richard, illegitimate son of Peter Hodroyd.
 May 2. Ann, the wife of Mr. Thomas Clarke, cooper.
 „ 11. James, an infant natural son of Peter Hodroyd.
 „ 20. John Peiarce, Esq. Sen. Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (59).
 „ 23. Mr. Francis Lherondell, Attorney at Law.
 „ 20. Mr. Mathew Munby, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Miss Ann Helena Legh, natural daughter of Willoughby Legh, Esq.
 „ 30. Mr. James Lane. Conyers, merchant.
 June 9. Ann Maria Brown, an infant daughter of Mr. John and Ann Maria Brown.
 „ 12. George, an infant natural son of Mr. George Morgan.
 „ 17. Mr. Charles Manson, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Mr. James Orrick, assistant surgeon.
 July 9. Cornelius Davis, Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Artillery.
 „ 15. Mr. J. B. Redpath, carpenter.
 „ 15. John Stevens, a poor boy.
 „ 16. Phillip Delisle, Esq. (60).
 „ 16. John Bawben, an infant.
 „ 19. Mr. William Mackay, carpenter.
 „ 21. Mrs. Catherine Deane, widow.
 „ 21. Mr. Robert Mackay, carpenter.
 „ 23. Mr. John King, musician.
 „ 23. Mrs. Mary Williams, wife of Capt. John Williams.
 „ 27. Peter Causals, servant to James Inglish Keighly, Esq.
 „ 27. William Wipperling, a poor inhabitant.
 Aug. 1. Mr. William Pinhorn, surgeon.
 „ 2. Miss Charlotte Thompson, an infant.

(57) Judge Advocate General: admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 4, 1785. Son of the Earl of Aboyne.

(58) Charles Russell Deare married Catherine Stark on June 5, 1779. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

(59) Collector of Midnapore from 1778 to 1788. There is a monument to his memory at Midnapore.

(60) Came out with Hastings and the Imhoffs on board the Duke of Grafton Indiaman in 1769. His daughter Mary married in 1800, Lieut. the Hon. James Ramsay, fourth son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214.

- Aug. 5. Mr. James McMican, surgeon's mate of the Phoenix Indiaman.
 „ 12. Sarah Jacobi, an infant.
 „ 15. Michael Henry Grace, Sheriff's Officer.
 „ 18. Leonora Hard, an infant aged eight years.
 „ 21. Warren Hastings, an infant son of William Larkins, Esq., Accountant General (61).
 „ 25. George Harrison, boatswain of the Prudentia a Danish ship.
 „ 26. Robert Stewart, a seaman.
 „ 30. Jeremiah Church, Esq., Barrister at Law (62).
 „ 31. Mrs. Ann Barnwell, inhabitant.
 Sept. 1. Mrs. Mary Filsley, widow.
 „ 8. Mrs. Margaret Burn, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Charles, an infant natural son of John Herbert Harington, Esq.
 „ 8. Edward Locke, seaman.
 „ 14. Richard Ross, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 18. Mary Karowpit, spinster, a natural protestant.
 „ 23. William Bell, seaman.
 „ 25. Obrien Green, an infant.
 Oct. 2. Mr. Isaac King, assistant surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 4. Mr. William Delamonte, inhabitant.
 „ 9. Mr. Jeremiah Russell, musician.
 „ 9. Mr. James Ellis, ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 14. William White, a natural protestant.
 „ 14. William Deatker, an infant.
 „ 15. Mrs. Elizabeth Cave, inhabitant.
 „ 17. Mr. Charles Crommelin, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (63).
 „ 17. Mrs. Jane Stewart, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. John Rogers, a monthly writer.

(61) He was four years and twenty days old at the time of his death. The inscription upon his tomb in South Park Street cemetery records that "an uncommon promising Genius, and an engaging and amiable Disposition, made him the Delight of his Father and the Favorite of the Settlement". In one of his letter to Hastings who was the child's god-father. Larkins writes that he is "very fond of calling himself Hastings Behauder" and "often points to your picture saying Jeeta Ro". This is the well-known picture by Devis, which hung for many years in the Council-chamber at Government House, Calcutta, and is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

(62) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on Nov. 12, 1782: Sheriff 1783. Hickey mentions his death (Vol. III, p. 342).

(63) The inscription on the tomb in South Park Street cemetery is as follows: "To the memory of Charles Crommelin junior, Esq. October 17, Anno Domini 1788: act. 30." A civil servant of this name was Resident at Radhanagore from 1787 to 1788. The use of the term "junior" suggests relationship with the Charles Crommelin who died at Berhampore on December 25, 1788, at the age of 81, and is buried there in the Calcutta cemetery. This Charles Crommelin, senior has been identified with the individual of that name, son of Marc Antoine Crommelin of a Huguenot family, who came out to Bombay in the Company's service in 1732 (when he must have been twenty-five) and was Governor from 1760 to 1767. He returned to England but suffered great losses in trade, and came back to India as a free merchant in

- Oct. 19. Elizabeth Bartley, a poor woman from the gaol.
 „ 20. Mr. John Blair, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Mr. John Debonnaire, inhabitant (64).
 „ 23. James Dempsey, seaman of the *Triomphe*, a Danish ship.
 „ 23. Mr. Thomas Findley, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 24. Mr. William Beresford, a monthly writer.
 „ 25. Mr. John Grant, a monthly writer.
 „ 25. George Gallaway, mariner.
 „ 25. Thomas Prescott, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 26. Miss Isabella Smart, aged thirteen years.
 „ 27. Mr. John Deane, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Richard Haswell, an infant son of Lieut. John Toppin and Elizabeth his wife.
 „ 29. Frederick Deatker, an infant.
 „ 30. Robert Wilkins, seaman.
 „ 31. Mr. James Moffatt, surgeon of the *Phoenix* Indiaman (65).
 Nov. 11. William Hume, a boy aged eight years.
 „ 17. Mr. Joseph Yarde, mariner.
 „ 18. Lydia Hadgett, an infant.
 „ 22. Mr. Charles King, chief constable to the Supreme Court.
 „ 24. Miss Charlotte Cooper, an infant.
 „ 25. Mr. Gwyne Vaughan, inhabitant.
 „ 26. Montague Samuel, son of Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau and Mary his wife.
 „ 26. Elizabeth Taylor, an infant.
 „ 26. Henry Gardiner, an infant.
 „ 27. William Brookes, a boy aged twelve years.
 „ 29. Mr. Patrick Butler, inhabitant (66).
 „ 29. Mr. Thomas Roy, inhabitant.

1772. In 1777 he was at Canton and was British Resident at Goa in 1784. Cf. Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (1813: Vol. IV, p. 107). "On January 18 [1784] I embarked [from Bombay] for the Malabar coast. In two days we arrived at Goa and spent a fortnight with Mr. Crommelin the English Resident: a respectable and venerable gentleman who had been Governor of Bombay twenty years before but by a reverse of fortune then held that inferior station in the Company's service. He resided at Panjeem, a pleasant spot on the banks of the river, some miles from the city of Goa not far from the Governor's country seat." There was also a Charles Russell Crommelin who was Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar in 1788 and at Luckypore from 1794 to 1799. His wife Juliana Shipton whom he married on March 1, 1790, died in Calcutta on November 2, 1795, aged 25, and is buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

(64) The maternal grandfather presumably of Lord Metcalfe. Mrs. Susanna Selina Sophia Smith, widow of Major John Smith, who married Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe in Calcutta on April 18, 1782, was the daughter of John Debonnaire "merchant at Lisbon and in the East Indies". Another daughter, Anne, married on Jan. 10, 1786, Col. the Hon. William Monson, son of the second Lord Monson who retreated before Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1804.

(65) His son William commanded the *Phoenix* Indiaman from 1800 to 1802.

(66) Patrick Butler married Mary Lloyd on November 16, 1787,

- Nov. 30. Mr. Samuel Oldham, undertaker (67).
 „ 30. Mr. William Thompson, from the hospital.
 Dec. 1. Henry Cornelius Thomas Martin, an infant.
 „ 2. Joanna, natural daughter of Daniel English.
 „ 3. Fergus Fergusson, carpenter's mate of the *Triomphe*, a Danish ship.
 „ 3. John Murphy, seaman of the *Prudentia* a Dane.
 „ 3. William Allen, seaman of the *Ranger* Packet.
 „ 4. Francis Mansoor, a poor native Christian.
 „ 5. Benjamin Pile, from the hospital.
 „ 12. Joseph Wright, seaman from the hospital.
 „ 14. John James Carlier, an infant.
 „ 14. Elizabeth Gray, an infant.
 „ 16. Phebe, an infant daughter of Mr. John Hall, senior merchant and Jean his wife.
 „ 17. Maria Eliza, infant daughter of John Bristow, Esq. and Amelia his wife.
 „ 19. James, son of Mr. John Stormonth, Surgeon Major.
 „ 20. John Steel, an infant.
 „ 21. Mr. George Weeden, chief officer of the *Sultan*, a country vessel.
 „ 24. Charlotte Amelia Turner, an infant.
 „ 24. John Palmer, an infant.
 „ 24. Mary Grant, an orphan from the Charity School.
 „ 26. Mr. James Alexander Stuart, mariner.
 „ 28. Mr. John Gent, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Mr. Peter Brown, inhabitant.

T. BLANSHARD, CHAPLAIN.

(67) Samuel Oldham married Mrs. Annie Wells, widow, on November 23, 1786. On February 17, 1789, she took a third husband in the person of Richard Haigh, Coachmaker. The tablet to Oldham, who was 55 at the time of his death, is among those affixed to the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery.

Selection from the Records of the Government of India.

Home Dept. Pub. O. C. 23rd March 1778, No. 28.

Governor-General's minute on the proposal of establishing a packet service between India and Suez.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

As it is of the greatest Importance to the Company that their Letters to and from India should be conveyed with as little delay as possible, I have long projected the establishment of a Packet between India and Suez in Egypt, from whence our Dispatches may pass without any danger to any of the Southern Ports in Europe.

The advantage of such an Establishment in point of dispatch cannot be doubted, as Mr. Whitehill of the Council of Madrass who brought out a Packet from the Court of Directors was not eleven Weeks from London to Madrass, and I myself received Letters from in nearly the same Time. I beg leave to call the Board's Attention to the 34th Para of the Company's General Letter under date the 4th of July 1777 by the Besboro [ugh] the latter part of which I shall quote:

"At the same time we shall take every step that the Company may be secured in the privilege of passing the dispatches under their seal to & from the East Indies by the way of Suez, and that all vessels conveying such dispatches and furnished with the Company's passport be suffered to enter that port & remain there without molestation, provided they have no Goods or Merchandize on board for carrying on any kind of traffic—it will therefore be necessary for you immediately to signify the same to the Commanders and Officers of such Vessels respectively and we hereby direct that you take effectual means to prevent the shipping of any Goods or Merchandize whatsoever thereon."

I think we are by this Letter authorized to establish a Packet for the navigation of the Red sea, and I have taken some pains to inform myself in what manner such an Establishment may be made with the greatest possible advantage, that is for the purpose of Expedition. I have learnt from a Gentleman who was at Bombay in October last, that two Vessels upon the model of the Swallow Sloop of War were then upon the stocks, one of which is to be sheathed with Copper, and that these Vessels were building for the Company's use. The Swallow is one of the best sailers in the navy, and from her shape is peculiarly adapted to the Navigation of the Red Sea, in which the winds generally prevail from one point and are contrary to Vessels bound to Suez. The length of Time that the Packet will be under the necessity of waiting at Suez for the Company's Dispatches makes it

highly proper that she should be sheathed with Copper, as she must lie at anchor in salt water, there being no River at Suez large enough to admit a Vessel of burthen, by which her Bottom might become so foul as to make a material difference in her return to India.

Mr. Maclean who has served on board an East Indiaman as second and chief mate, has made the voyage up and down the Red Sea at different seasons, and performed the Journey from Suez to London and back again, is particularly well qualified for the Command, and will be better able than another to take the necessary measures for the safe and speedy conveyance of such Dispatches as may be entrusted to his care.

I therefore move that Mr. Maclean be furnished with a Letter to the President and Council of Bombay requesting them to deliver to him the Vessel sheathed with Copper that I have described in my minute, or if she should be otherwise engaged, the other Vessel built on the same Model; and if neither of the Vessels can be spared, that they will cause any other proper Vessel to be provided for a Suez Packet and delivered to Mr. Maclean.

As Mr. Maclean must set out for Bombay in the course of this Week, should the Board agree to my motion, I am of opinion that he should be put, immediately upon the same Establishment as the Commander of the Amazon and that he should be directed to proceed to Bombay with the Letter mentioned in my motion with all possible Expedition. Upon his arrival there he will be under the orders of the Governor and Council, and it will be proper to inform them of our desire that the Packet may be dispatched so as to arrive in Bengal early in August.

W. H.

Home Dept. Pub. O.C. 23rd March 1778, No. 29.

To

THE HON'BLE WILLIAM HORNBY, ESQR.,
President &c. Council of Bombay.

GENTLEMEN,

We think it proper to furnish you with the enclosed Extract of a General letter which we have received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

As the Company have thereby informed us that "they will take every step to be secure in the privilege of passing dispatches under their seal to and from India by the way of Suez" and as we consider it a matter of great importance that they should receive advices from India by the most speedy channel of Conveyance we propose to establish a packet between Bengal and the Port of Suez. We understand that you have two Vessels on the stocks which are Building after the model of the Swallow Sloop of War and that they are to be sheathed with Copper. As we conceive that Vessels of this construction would be the fittest in every respect for the navigation of the Red Sea we request that one of them may be delivered to Mr. Maclean the bearer of this letter whom we have appointed to the Command of the

Packet, but if the service for which they were ordered to be built will not admit of either of them being spared on this occasion we desire that you will cause any other Vessel which you may deem most proper for this Purpose of a Suez Packet to be provided and delivered.

We are,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedt. Hble. Servt.

CALCUTTA,
The 23rd March, 1778.

The Mother of the Company.

(Mr. B. N. Banerji sends us the following interesting note on his article in our No. 64.—ED., B. P. & P.)

SINCE the publication of the last issue of *Bengal: Past & Present* I have received from the India Office, London, copies of two interesting documents which could not be found in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.

On the eve of sailing away from India Hastings received the following *arzi* from Munni Begam describing her hardship and soliciting the restoration of the annual allowance of Rs. 1,40,000 which had been once settled on her "with a benignant regard to her ease and dignity":—

"...My claims on the Company and the rulers of this country are too well known to require that I should here enlarge on them. The attachment of my husband the Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan to the Company, the services which he rendered them, and his anxious concern for their prosperity, even from the commencement of their disputes with Qasim Ali Khan to the hour of his death, are boundless, and such as I shall not attempt to describe. They are preserved in the records of the Company. During the life of my husband, Jafar Muhammad Khan, and of our son Najm-ud-daula, who by favour of the Company was, according to the ancient custom of the country, appointed Nazim of Bengal with an established salary of fifty-three lakhs, eighty-six thousand, and one hundred thirty-one Rupees, I was the Mistress of the family and uncontrolled in my expenses. I possessed besides for my own sole and separate benefit the management of several Khas mahals or freehold districts, and other lands of great value. So long I continued exempt from every hardship and inconvenience. Afterwards Saif-ud-daula succeeded to the Nizamat. His salary was first settled at forty-one lakhs, eighty-six thousand and one hundred thirty-one Rupees, but was soon afterwards reduced to Rupees thirty-two lakhs. During his time I continued at the head of the women relations and dependents of the two deceased Nawabs and, however fallen, continued to lead my life in tolerable ease. I comforted myself with the conviction that the Honorable Company in due attention to the merits of Jafar Muhammad Khan, would never be negligent in promoting the welfare of his family. In his last hours indeed he sent for me, and assured me that his merits with the Company were so well established and acknowledged, that whilst they should continue the rulers of this country they would be the careful Guardians of his Honour and Family. And after both his decease and that of Najm-ud-daula, Lord Clive came to my house and gave me

similar assurances. He told me that though nothing could compensate for the loss of the two deceased Nawabs, yet that while the Company's power in this country continued, it should be extended to the care and preservation of the honour and family of the Nawab, and that the Gentlemen invested with the government of this country would always attend to me and consult my welfare and happiness. So far his assurances were verified, that during the life of the Nawab Saif-ud-daula, neither I nor the women of the deceased Nawabs who now depended on me, were subjected to any great inconveniences. In the Bengal year 1179, when the stipend of the Nizamat was settled at sixteen lakhs of Rupees, you visited the city. Alarmed by so great a deduction of the salary, I laid before you the circumstances and situation of our family, and represented to you the numbers who depended on me for subsistence. As you were early and intimately acquainted with the circumstances of our house, you attentively considered my situation, and with a benignant regard to my ease and dignity were pleased to grant me a salary of one lakh forty thousand Rupees, exclusive of the sum of sixteen lakhs which had been settled as the stipend of the Nizamat. From thence I was enabled, with whatever difficulty, to subsist myself, and to furnish a bare support, if nothing more, to the numerous and honorable relations of the two deceased Nawabs. In the Bengal year 1182, when the new Gentlemen arrived from England, great contentions arose between the Members of Council, and in the consequences of these were unhappily involved many of the natives of this country. Though no offence had been imputed to me, yet because in attention to the deserts of Mir Jafar, you, like your predecessor, were pleased to favor me with your protection, the new Gentlemen, in the month of Jeit 1182 [May-June 1776], annulled my salary. So considerable a deduction from what was before only a bare subsistence reduced us, notwithstanding the rights which we possessed, to a state of extreme distress. Unable to provide for the many relations and dependents who looked up to me for support, I frequently represented my afflictions to you. You comforted me with promises of assistance. Relying on these and never doubting that you would kindly consider my wretched situation, I have by borrowing and by the sale of my effects thus long continued to subsist myself and support my relations and dependents. But the accumulated distresses which I suffer from the importunities of my creditors, and the difficulties under which I labour are now beyond all bounds. I have not the means to satisfy the one or power to bear the other. Affliction seems to threaten a period to my days. It is incumbent upon all the English Gentlemen, but above all upon you who on the part of the King, the Company and the English nation, are the Governor of this country and the distributor of Justice to all who demand it, to consider with compassion our

situation. If you will not attend to us, who will? Who besides yourself can afford us relief? Consider that this large family of women are possessed of honour and [are] the relations of the deceased Nawab. They are not servants whom I can dismiss. If, which God forbid, I should not be enabled to support the family, and they should be obliged to separate, consider the disgrace and obloquy which will be proclaimed by such an event through all the cities of Hindustan. As on the part of the King of England and the Company, you are the possessor and the ruler of this country, we call on you with uplifted hands for justice, and humbly hope that in due consideration of our manifold claims, and in attention to the honour and happiness of our house, which is one of the most distinguished in Hindustan, you will be graciously pleased to restore to me the yearly allowance of one lakh forty thousand Rupees as it was before settled on me, that so I may free myself from the importunities of my creditors, and proportioning my mode of life to my circumstances, may pass the remainder of it in prayers for the welfare of the Company, etc." (1)

Hastings on 3rd November 1783 wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, forwarding the *urzi* of the Begam, without informing the other Members of the Council:

"I humbly and earnestly solicit your favourable attention to the enclosed letter addressed to me for the purpose, as I understand, of a reference to your Hon'ble Court, from Munni Begam, the principal widow of the Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, and once the directress of his household. This introduction to your notice I have frequently promised to give to her claims, and I reluctantly yield to the obligation which her present solicitation, grounded on my engagement, imposes on me to present them at a time which on many accounts, I fear, may prove unpropitious to them. But the pressure of severe necessity will not always wait the delays which policy may recommend for the better assurance of success; and many years of her life have elapsed since she first looked to your justice and benevolence for the alleviation of her sufferings. These are not to be conceived by those who have not a near acquaintance with the modesty of female life in those countries where the religion of Muhammad prevails, and among women of the most elevated rank. Her's is of that estimation in these provinces. Her education and the confidence of her deceased husband were the causes of her being placed by his appointment in the charge of his family. How she was removed from it, her letter mentions, but delicately suppresses the indignities which attended her privation of authority. You, Hon'ble Sirs, will easily turn to their place on our records, and will remember without any reference the general subject of them. You will also remember how

(1) *Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. 21, pp. 361-68.

unfortunately for her ease, interest and dignity, I made her the instrument of effecting the regulations which formed the substance of your first commands to me on my accession to the office of President under the former and ancient system of your Government. I hope I shall not transgress the lines of humility in claiming some merit with your Hon'ble Court, and a return yet due to me for the scrupulous and studious obedience which I paid to those commands. I was, by private letters received at the same time with them, assured that it was suspected generally that I should elude the performance of them. I performed them most literally, and drew upon me by it a host of enemies, supported even in the place where my fidelity merited a more generous treatment. She too became the victim of your policy and of the resentments which succeeded. Something too she owed of the source of her misfortunes to the belief of the personal gratitude which she might entertain for the public attention which I had shown to her. Yet, exposed as she was to a treatment which a ruffian would have shuddered at committing, and which no recollection of past enmities shall impell me to believe even for a moment proceeded from any commission of authority, she still maintained the decorum of her character: nor even then, nor before, nor since that period has the malice of calumny dared to breathe on her reputation.

Pardon, Hon'ble Sirs, this freedom of expostulation. I must in honest truth repeat that your commands laid the first foundation of her misfortunes. To your equity she has now recourse through me for their alleviation, that she may pass the remainder of her life in a state which may at least efface the remembrance of the years of her affliction. And to your humanity she and an unseen multitude of the most helpless of her sex cry for subsistence.

It is proper to apprise your Honourable Court that as this address is written without the knowledge of the other Members of the Council, so neither shall I make any communication to them of the letter which it encloses. I am now the only remaining Member of your Government who was formerly a party in the dissensions of which Munni Begam was the object, and perhaps the only one of the present Board who have any knowledge either of her pretensions or, if she has any, of her demerits. The virtues of her sex are such as in their nature depress their possessors in silence and obscurity, and some years have passed since she ceased to be an object of notice. Were I to bring her claims at this time before the Board, whether for the purpose of requiring their effective sentiments upon them, or simply for official information, in either case their opinions, if opposite to mine, would be hostile to her, and become the seeds of future and durable prejudices in the breasts of those who may soon become the disposers of her Fate, and to whom, if they succeed to the full powers of my office, I should wish to bequeath the same spirit of kindness which I have

ever felt and manifested to the family of Jafar Ali Khan. On this occasion it will better become me to commit and avow an informality than by a more regular conduct to involve an innocent and deserving person in the hazard of future evils. (2)

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

(2) *Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. 21, pp. 353-60.

Only a small portion of this letter is reproduced in Burke's *Speech at the Impeachment of Warren Hastings*.

The Editor's Note Book.

WHO was the Apelles who went out to Bengal in 1759 and very probably painted Colonel Clive? He was the bearer of a letter to Mrs. Clive in that year from Miss Sally Clive, which like many ladies' epistles bears no date, but was certainly written shortly after a letter of Dec. 26, 1758, both being quoted in Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, pp. 167-9. Sally was one of the Clive cousins and her letters are most sprightly, the first one opening, "I don't know what title I must give you now, but I am sure I may say To the agreeable Mrs. Clive." "I have always wrote when I heard the ships sailed, and by Captain Tully and Mr. King." The succeeding letter which Apelles carried is as follows.

"I have a thousand things to say to you, and but a moment's time. I find the bearer of this a painter; hope the Colonel and you will let him take your pictures. I should be glad of them in miniature. I begin to fear the Colonel will not bring me the Eastern Prince till it is too late; the bushel of diamonds runs strangely in my head. Fanny is going to enter into the happy state of matrimony.

"The Colonel a great advantage to his family." I have seen the lover; upon my word, a pretty, cherry-checked, agreeable young counsellor. I hear he is called to the Bar, and will have 500 l. a year. I wish I had been the Colonel's sister; not to detract from them; certainly he is a great advantage to his family; and I believe, after my aunts and myself the horrid name of old

"Old maids will be extirpated out of the house of Clive." maid will be extirpated out of the house of Clive. I have still a thousand things to say. Apelles has arrived and must have this letter, but it may be of service to you, his occasioning me to release you. Well, a little more. All diversions go on as usual; a gloomy town; general mourning for the Princess of Orange; the linen that is worn is crape, as yellow as saffron and what they call Turkey gauze, that looks like sarcenet; a sign that the world is as ridiculous as ever. A most elegant ball at Lord Sandwich's! I must not say any more, only beg my respects and most sincere love to the Colonel. I wish for your speedy return to England. Pray give my love to cousin George who I would write to had I a moment but will in the next ship."

Who can Apelles have been? The date of the letter is fixed by the reference to the recent death of the Princess of Orange and the engagement of Fanny to the cherry-checked Counsellor. 1759 is too

Who can Apelles have been? early for George Willison, Ozias Humphrey, Calef John Garbrand, Mathew Wilmott or J. T. Seton, who all arrived in India much later. Perhaps a reference to the List of Passengers carried on the Company's ships in the year 1759 would furnish a clue. The Eastern Prince is referred to in the previous letter: "I sincerely wish you well on your native shore, with your bags of money and bushels of diamonds; with

the Eastern Prince the Colonel is so good as to say he will get for me. I can't possibly refuse him. I have a taste to be a princess." It was a common mode of remittance at the time to send money home in diamonds, and on one occasion Clive sent 16,000 gold mohurs to his agents at Madras, Messrs. Orme and Vansittart with instructions to purchase diamonds as a remittance. The George Clive was the only member of the family who accompanied the Colonel on his expedition to Bengal.

MISS Sally's taste to be an Eastern Princess is exemplified by the Epilogue to "A Wife in The Right" written by Mr. Colman and spoken by Mrs. Mattocks in March 1772. This is the celebrated actress (Isabella Hallam, 1746-1826) who was for fifty-eight years at Covent Garden, and has been described as "A stage Hogarth and for facial expression a very Munden in petticoats".

"The Eastern Princess or Nabobina."

"I'll e'en equip me for the Indian route;
Seaton and Ramsay join to fit me out;
Bull says he's sure I need not then despair,
For British features have a premium there.
Even this homely face would charm, they say,
Among the copper beauties of Bombay;
And she who in a croud would scarcely pass
With us, would be a Venus at Madrass.
Pantheon, opera, play-house, Fantoccini,
Farewell. I'll go and be a Nabobina,
Or if that scheme perchance should not succeed
E'en wed a Seapoy Chief and mend the breed.
What if one's husband is a little frightful,
Where everything beside is so delightful!
T'will be so charming on a summer's day
For fifty squas to charm me as I play,
Or on rich carpets, free from noise and hurry,
Sit cross-legg'd with my spouse, and feast on curry.
If I've a taste for baubles, my good man
Will load me with old china and Japan,
Diamond on diamonds heap'd, and pearly rows
For hair, ears, neck and breast, *perhaps my nose*.
No filthy hackneys here, so poor and mean,
Give me twelve Seapoys and a Palanquin,
I'll keep a little squadron at my call
And make my first grand visit in a shawl.
But must I leave my little Bull behind:
No, hang it, after all 'twould be unkind,
The fellow may be useful, he shall go
For he can write or under-write, you know,
And many a worse, I heard a sweet bird Sing,
Goes out a writer and comes back a King,
A writer here is quite another thing."

REFERENCE has been made in these columns in the past to Thomas Hickey's portrait of Mrs. Abington as "Lady Bab" at the Garrick Club, London. It hangs next to Millais' splendid likeness of Sir Henry Irving (1836-1905) who is connected with India, in that he worked as a youth for four years with Messrs Thacker, East India merchants, Newgate Street. This was when he bore his original name of John Henry Brodribb. He was born at Keinton Mandeville, near Glastonbury, Somerset, and educated at Dr. Pinches' School, George Yard, Lombard Street. Hickey's portrait adjoining which is a small full-length represents Mrs. Abington in the character of Lady Bab Lardoon in the "Maid of the Oak", and was shown at the Academy in 1775. She is depicted with tired hair and a wreath of flowers in her hand. "Mrs. Abington (1730-1815) whose maiden name was Frances Barton, succeeded to the crown of comedy on Mrs. Clive's retirement and has left behind her a reputation for nearly every essential of stage excellence. She is traced as "Nosegay Fan", the flower-seller in the Mall, through many a vicissitude and shifting scene to the front rank as a comic actress, to the first society of the fashionable world, and is immortalized by Reynolds as the Muse of Comedy. In two characters she is reported as unapproachable; Estifania in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rule A Wife and Have A Wife" and Shakespeare's Beatrice. Of her own sex she was ever a brilliant satirist and of the bevy of ladies who composed Garrick's Company, she was the most unmanageable and unrelenting. J. P. Collier ("Old Man's Diary") "saw her twice at Serjeant Rough's parties in Bedford Row. She was shrunk by age into a small woman, but was very sprightly and, in spite of her wrinkles, attractive." She died in Pall Mall and is buried in a vault in St. James' Church, Piccadilly. We reproduce this excellent note from the Catalogue of Pictures in the possession of the Garrick Club (1909) by Mr. Robert Walters, and our thanks are due to Mr. Charles Fitch, the Club's Secretary, for our copy of the Catalogue, as well as for a visit to the pictures paid so long ago as November 1910.

IT is not too much to say that Herasim Lebedeff and his theatre in Doomtollah have been completely forgotten by the Calcutta of to-day. Lebedeff however is honoured by mention in Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography. He is said to have been a Russian peasant from the Ukraine; and he first made acquaintance with India as a bandmaster in Madras where he stayed two years. In August 1787 he came to Calcutta and in 1795 obtained permission to build a theatre for the performance of Indian plays in Doomtollah, the lane leading out of China Bazar which is now-a-days known as Ezra Street. It was advertised to open with a translation into Bengali of "The Disguise", which was followed later on by a translation of "Love is the Best Doctor". The performances, according to Lebedeff, were a great success; but he left Calcutta to become theatrical manager to the Great Mogul and returned

Thomas Hickey's
Portrait of Mrs.
Abington in the
Garrick Club,
London.

The Doomtollah
Theatre.

to England in 1801 after more than 20 years in the East. He published in that year in London a "Grammar of the pure and mixed East Indian dialects, with dialogues affixed, arranged according to the Brahmenian system of the Shamscrit language", was subsequently employed by Woronzow in the Russian Foreign Office and died after 1815. There is a copy of his book in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

ANYTHING about Madame Grand cannot fail to interest our readers. On page 81 of Dr. Firminger's Reprint of the "Narrative of A Gentleman Long Resident in India", G. F. Grand writes:—
 "In one of these trips from the Presidency (to Ghycetty) I formed an attachment to Miss Noel Catharine Werlée, the daughter of Monsieur Werlée, Capitaine du Port, and Chevalier de Saint Louis, a respectable old man, whose services had deservedly merited this mark of distinction from his Sovereign." Mr. Grand made his acquaintance in 1776-7 and has ante-dated the mark of distinction by 10 years. As a matter of fact the decoration was not conferred till 1786 and only reached Chandernagor after the death of le Sieur Verlée.
 In March 1781 he was according to a letter of his own, aged 60 and for some time past had suffered from swelling of the legs, could hardly walk and had to use crutches. The despatch which announced the decoration is dated Versailles, Feb. 23, 1786 and signed by the Maréchal de Castries, and is endorsed, "The Sieur Verlée being dead, this cross has been returned to the Court, with the letter No. 70." It is to be found among the archives at Pondicherry, which have been so excellently catalogued in two volumes by M. Gaudart. We quote the original French.

"Versailles, le, 23 Fevrier 1786.

Pondichéry. Le Sr Verlée étant mort cette croix a été renvoyée à la Cour, par la lettre No. 70.

Sur le compte, Monsieur, que J'ai rendu au Roi des services du S. Verlée, Capitaine de Port à Chandernagor Sa Majesté a bien voulu luy accorder une des croix de St Louis qui ont été affectées au Corps des ancien Capitaines de la Compagnie des Indes. Vous trouverez cy. joint les ordres nécessaires pour sa réception, avec la croix et le ruban. Je vous prie de m'envoyer le certificat de la réception de cet officer. Comme la position dans laquelle il se trouve à Chandernagor, pourrait trop éloigner cette réception et la priver de la jouissance de la décoration qu'il a obtenue, Sa majesté a permis par le Brevet cy-joint de porter la croix de St. Louis vous voudrez bien les luy faire parvenir avec la lettre cy-jointe. J'ai l'honneur d'être très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé: le Maréchal de Castries.

Mr. De Cossigny.



EMBASSY OF HYDER BEG (OR HYDER BICK) TO CALCUTTA.

On the second elephant are Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kennaway and the Nawab's interpreter,
edited by John Zoltany, R. I.

IN the little churchyard of Escot, near Ottery St. Mary, the tomb may be seen of two famous Anglo-Indian brothers of a past generation, of whom one was closely connected with Calcutta.

The Kennaways
of Escot.

The inscription, which has most kindly been copied by Miss G. E. Kennaway, the great granddaughter of Sir John Kennaway, runs as follows:

Sacred to the Memory of Richard Kennaway Esquire and Sir John Kennaway, Baronet, both of Escot, Second and Third sons of William Kennaway of the City of Exeter, Merchant. In early life Richard entered the Civil and John the Military Service of the East India Company in Bengal. They were shipwrecked at the mouth of the Ganges; but by the mercy of God their lives were preserved. For more than 20 years They Served with zeal and integrity; And John, having ably conducted important negotiations, was advanced by his Sovereign to the rank of a Baronet on the 25th February 1791.

After their return to England John married Charlotte daughter of James Amyatt Esq. M.P. by whom he had seven sons and five daughters. Richard remained unmarried. But retaining in manhood and old age the warm affection of youth, they dwelt in the same house, were loved by the same family, and submitted themselves to the same trials. In the decline of life it pleased God to visit them both with the same affection of blindness. And now in the hope of a Blessed Redeemer they rest in the same grave.

Richard died 5th January, 1833, aged 76.

John died 1st January, 1836, aged 77.

There is a portrait of Sir John Kennaway in the Victoria Memorial Hall, and he is represented also in Zoffany's famous pictures of "The Embassy of Hyder Beck" and "Lord Cornwallis receiving the Son of Tippoo", which are likewise in the collection. He came out to Bengal with his brother Richard in 1772 and accompanied Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse in 1781 as his Persian Secretary during his expedition to the Carnatic where he subsequently served under Fyre Coote until 1786. From 1788 until his retirement in 1794, he was Resident at Hyderabad; and concluded treaties with the Nizam in 1790 and with Tippoo Sultan in 1792. Richard was Secretary to the Board of Trade at Calcutta from 1782 to 1787 and Import Warehouse Keeper from 1788 to 1796.

NOT far off, in the church at Talaton, near Sidmouth, a monument will be found recording the death at Sidmouth on August 21,

Peter and James
Amyatt.

1804, at the age of 64, of Mrs. Maria Amyatt, "widow of Peter Amyatt, Esq., second in Council at Calcutta who having been deputed on the public service of his country to the Court of Cossim Ally Khan, immediately after the nuptial ceremony, was murdered by the officers of that prince on his return to the Presidency". The lady thus

commemorated was the mother of Charlotte Kennaway. Maria Woolaston was twice married in Calcutta: to Peter Amyatt on April 6, 1763, and to his cousin and executor, Captain James Amyatt (who was later on M.P. for Southampton) on March 2, 1764. Peter Amyatt arrived in Bengal in 1743, when he was about fifteen years old: and seems also to have twice married. Margaret Holme, who became his wife on January 20, 1756 is named among the women on board the vessels at Fulta: and as for Peter we learn from the Fulta Lists that, being then Chief of the Jugdea Factory (in the Noakhali district), he "with Messrs. Playdel, Verelst, Smith and Ensign Mure with about 20 military quitted Jugdea factory agreeable to the Governor and Council's order and joined the fleet at Fulta sometime after Calcutta was taken". He brought with him about Rs. 60,000 worth of the Company's property, and was commended by Holwell. Clive sent him early in February 1757 with letters for the Nabob, who was then in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum. In 1760 he went to Patna as chief, but was passed over for the office of President at Fort William by Henry Vansittart who came up from Madras in July. He was murdered on the river off Cossimbazar in July 1763. Captain James Amyatt was in the marine service and in command of the *Fort William* in 1759. The date of the departure of himself and his wife from Calcutta is fixed by an entry in Colonel Alexander Champion's diary (India Office Mss. Home Miscell: 198): "February 10, 1766: Early this morning Mr. and Mrs. Amyatt left Town for Europe." A few months before—on November 7, 1765—General John Carnac had married Mrs. Amyatt's sister, Elizabeth Wollaston: but she did not long survive and his second wife whom he married when M.P. for Leominster was Eliza Rivett, the subject of the famous picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds (now in the Wallace Gallery), of which a reproduction was given in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, p. 189).

The following note is by Sir Evan Cotton.

THE student of history has long been waiting for an authoritative collation of the various contemporary accounts of the victory gained by Major Hector Munro at Buxar on October 23, 1764, over the forces of Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh and Wazir of the Empire. This has at last been provided by Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., in the issue for March, 1926, of the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society." As sub-divisional officer of Buxar in 1892-94, Mr. Oldham carefully surveyed the battle-field, and his topographical researches are of the utmost value. In addition to an admirably clear sketch map of his own, he publishes for the first time, a plan which accompanies the account of the battle in the diary of Major Alexander Champion (India Office MSS. Home Series Misc. Vol. 198, pp. 99-107). The conjectural sketch which appeared in 1910 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. VI, p. 129) is, he points out, as inaccurate and incomplete as the plan given by Sir John Fortescue in his "History of the British Army" (Vol. III, plate IX).



ELIZA RIVETT.
(Second Wife of General John Carnarvon.)

Not less important than Mr. Oldham's identification of the different localities is his story of the engagement itself, which finally decided the fate of the English in Northern India. Munro, in the report addressed by him to the President and Council at Fort William, is strangely silent upon the vicissitudes of the fighting, and lets fall no hint of the errors of the enemy which enabled him almost at the last moment to turn disaster into victory. For these essential details recourse must be had to Champion, and Lieutenant Gabriel Harper, as well as Gentil and René Madec, the two French officers whose disciplined brigades formed part of the Nawab Wazir's army. If we are to believe Champion, Munro displayed at the outset of the battle the same irresolution which led him in 1780 to throw his guns and baggage into the temple tank at Conjeeveram and retreat hastily towards Fort Saint George on learning of the defeat by Haidar Ali at Pollilore of Colonel Baillie, whom he had failed to support. The final attack against the division of Beni Bahadur on the left wing, proved decisive: but it was a supreme effort made after Munro had lost all his munitions and stores. The casualties were heavy (12 per cent. of the total force as against $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at Plassey) and in all probability were caused mainly by the enemy's artillery which was superior in calibre. The resting place of the two English officers, who were killed, is unknown: but thanks to Mr. Oldham, the tombs have been discovered of Shuja Quli Khan and Saiyid Ghulam Qadir two of the Wazir's generals: and these are now under the care of the Public Works Department.

SIR EVAN COTTON also writes: Mention was made in my article on Tilly Kettle and his pictures *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 227) of two large historical works painted for Sir Robert Barker (who commanded the artillery at Plassey and was appointed Commander-in-chief in Bengal in 1770) and hung by him at Busbridge Park, his house near Godalming. This mansion has been demolished, and the new house which has taken its place is owned by Sir "Archy" Birkmyre, Bart., of Calcutta. The pictures are now in the possession of Mrs. Webb, of Milford House, an adjoining estate, whose husband was connected with the family of Sir Robert: and I have lately been afforded the opportunity of examining them. They are very large in size: measuring about ten feet by eight and a half feet. One of them represents the signing of the treaty of Fyzabad in 1772: and contains portraits of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula and his four sons, and of Barker with his aides-de-camp, Capt. Cockerell and Capt. Harper, and Mr. Davy, the Persian interpreter. The other picture shows the Emperor Shah Alum reclining in his tent of State and watching a review of the third brigade of the Company's troops "in the plains of Allahabad". He is surrounded by his principal attendants, and an English officer stands by his side, with a sepoy, explaining the various evolutions of the troops. A full description of both pictures is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786. At page 1092 of the December number, the death is reported of "Tilly Kettle, Esq. on his way to Bengal."

Historical pictures
by Tilly Kettle.

His abilities as an artist could only be excelled by his virtues as a man. Society loses a most amiable member, and his family and friends a man endued with every virtue which rendered him highly respected while living and deservedly lamented. A large picture by him of Sir Robert Barker and other officers having audience of the Nabob is at Busbridge House, whither he lately sent a large picture of the mother and her seven children martyred by Antiochus.

The allusion to the pictures inspired a correspondent to send an account of them which is printed in the Supplement at p. 1145. The picture which illustrates the signing of the treaty of Fyzabad must have been painted while Kettle was in India, for it is stated to have been exhibited "at the Society of Artists at their great room over Exeter Change in 1775, when Mr. K. was fellow of the Society", and also in the East Indies. It is a good piece of work, and the portrait of Barker is a fine one. The picture of the review at Allahabad, which was painted after Kettle left India, is not so attractive. It was shown at the Royal Academy in 1781. The correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* apportions praise as well as blame:

The materials of the several draperies render it a very rich picture in point of colouring and are exceedingly well painted. The foreshortening of the aid-de-camp's right arm in the act of extension to explain what passes, from an injudicious position of the whole attitude, suggests an idea of lameness which no plea of natural effect can justify.

The third picture is not at Milford House, and must have been sold after Barker's death in 1789. Its subject is taken from the seventh chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The correspondent adds that several single portraits by Kettle were exhibited in 1777, 1782, and 1783, while he was in India; and enumerates the following: a portrait in 1775 at the Society of Arts of "Nabob Omdut il Mult Surajah Dowla Anaverdee Caun Behauda Jung Nabob of Arcot and the Carnatic"; and a picture in 1776 of a Gentoo woman taking leave of her friends and distributing her jewels before mounting her husband's funeral pyre. These details we are told are printed as a tribute to "the merit of this artist which was confined to a particular line and of whose private history no traits have hitherto reached us".

TILLEY KETTLE had a son in the Madras Army, James Tilley by name who entered as Cadet in 1800, became Lieutenant July 20, 1801, and a Captain Feb. 2, 1804. He was invalided in India July 31, 1817 and died October 21, 1819 at Sankerrydroog in the Salem district where his tomb in

Tilley Kettle's
military son in the
Madras Army.

the cemetery is not one of the two whose inscriptions have survived. The Army List which places him first in the 7th M. N. I. and then in the 4th Native Veteran Battalion, persistently spells his second name as Tillary which looks like a comparative of Tilley. But it is an obvious mistake for Tilley. Sir William Foster, who has been good enough to refer to the Volume of

Petitions at the India Office has found the copy of his baptismal certificate which states that James Tilley, the son of Tilley and Mary Kettle, was born in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, November 27, 1782. At the time of his application (1799) both his father and mother were dead. There seems no doubt that he was the son of the painter.

WE learn with pleasure (writes Sir Evan Cotton) that His Excellency the Earl of Lytton has secured a portrait of the Marquess Wellesley by Robert Home for the sadly depleted collection at Government House, Calcutta. The picture is a replica on a smaller scale of the portrait by Home which formerly hung at Government House and has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla. The large painting (which came in the first instance from Government House, Singapore) is reproduced as a frontispiece to the first volume of Lord Curzon's book on Government House, Calcutta. Lord Wellesley is shown in scarlet uniform standing beside a table which is covered with scrolls inscribed "Subsidiary Treaty with Hyderabad, 1798", "Treaty with Mysore, 1799", "Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam, 1799": and in the background is a view of St. Mary's Church in Fort Saint George. There is an inscription to the following effect on the back of the picture purchased by Lord Lytton: "Portrait of the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General of India, painted circ. 1800 (by Robert Home), presented to Mr. Burmann and retained in his family until 1893 when it was presented by his grand-daughter to Dr. Renaud."

In a pamphlet on "Indian Reform" published in the year 1853 at the time when the merits of Company and Crown Government were being hotly discussed, some remarkable statements are made regarding the holders of the office of Commander-in-Chief, of whom there was at that time one in each of the three Presidencies:

The Commanders-in-Chief of a past generation.

These officers invariably belong to the Queen's service and are in the majority of cases effete septuagenarians to whom no one would commit the drill of a militia corps. Sir Richard Armstrong, Commander-in-Chief at Madras [1851-53] requires to be carried about in an easy chair. The faculties of Sir John Grey (1780-1856), late Commander-in-Chief of Bombay [1850-52], were so far gone that he forgot the names of his own aides-de-camp and never could be made to comprehend when he should write his name, when only put his initials to, a document. The rule as to antiquity, however, is not absolute. Sir William Comm [1784-1875, Commander-in-Chief in India from 1850 to 1856] was at the bottom of the list of Lieutenant Generals when the baton of

authority was conferred on him [in succession to Sir Charles Napier]: much junior to the Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras, the former of whom, Sir Willoughby Cotton [1847-1850] resigned his command in consequence. Not one of the present Commander-in-Chief, of whom, however, the youngest [Sir William Gomm] is allowed to be a man of ability, had, when appointed to commands in India, ever been in the country or seen a sepoy: while there are seven thousand English officers in the Company's army, possessed of all the qualifications for those highest commands which they are prevented by the injustice of their country from filling.

In pre-mutiny days the Commander-in-Chief in India received £8,000 a year as his military salary and £10,000 as member of Council. The two other Commanders-in-Chief were paid at half these rates.

NO greater contrast to this complaint could be found than the following
Lord Dalhousie on "Queen's Officers." extract from a letter written by Lord Dalhousie almost at the same time (September, 1852):

In this Presidency of Bengal alone there are at present upwards of 550 Queen's Officers. A few of these are on personal staff appointments exclusively belonging to the Queen's service; but excepting these there is not, as a general rule, one single officer of the Queen's army employed on the general staff or in any of the numerous appointments, civil, military and scientific, which exist in India. This exclusion is caused by the positive prohibition of the Court of Directors.

IT is interesting to turn up a Bengal Directory for 1855 and glean particulars regarding the composition of the Bengal Army in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the Mutiny.

The Bengal Army in 1855.

There are seventy-four regiments of regular infantry, of which the fourteen last were raised in the years 1823 to 1825. The senior regiment, the First Bengal Native Infantry, is alone entitled to bear "Plassey" on its colours: it was raised in 1757. Next in point of age comes the Fifth, which dates from 1758, and carries "Buxar" and "Carnatic" on its colours. The Ninth, which was raised in 1761, fought likewise at Buxar, and so also the Second (Grenadiers), raised in 1762, and the Third, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth, all raised in 1763. The Fourth and Twelfth ("Carnatic") Sixth ("Mysore") Seventh and Eleventh ("Guzerat") date from the same year, 1763. The Thirteenth ("Guzerat") Fourteenth ("Seringatapatam") and Fifteenth ("Bhurtore") are regiments of 1764, and the Seventeenth, which carried no battle honours, of 1765. There is then a gap until 1776, which is the date of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first.

The Twenty-second and Twenty-third are of 1778, and the Twenty-fourth of 1779. Five regiments were raised in 1797 and are numbered 25 to 29 and five others in 1798, the Thirtieth to the Thirty-third and the Thirty-fifth. Lastly, to bring the century to a close, those numbered 36 to 39 were raised in 1800. In addition to the seventy-four regiments of regulars, we have the Regiment of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, two regiments of Sikhs (the Forezepore and Loodiana regiments, raised in 1846) three battalions known as the Sirmoor, Kemaon, and Nusseeree battalions, and ten regiments of local infantry, such as the Bhugulpore Hill Rangers, raised in 1792, and the Ramgurh Light Infantry, raised in 1795 for service in Chota Nagpore.

AMONG the tombs in the South Park Street Cemetery is that of Captain Edward Cooke of H. M. S. *Sybil* "who received a mortal wound in a gallant action with the French frigate *La Forte* which he captured in Balasore Roads, 1st March 1799, and brought to this port where he died 23rd May 1799, aged 26 years." It has been held upon the authority of a leading article in the *Times* of August 3, 1799, that the young sailor was the son of Captain Cook, the discoverer of Botany Bay: but according to Dr. C. R. Wilson, his father was Colonel Cooke of Harefield, in the County of Middlesex, and his brother General Sir G. Cooke, commanded the first division at Waterloo. A passage in the last volume of William Hickey's *Memoirs* (IV, 202) confirms Dr. Wilson's statement. We read:

The *Sybil* frigate, being in want of repairs in her hull, was brought up to Calcutta to undergo them. She was commanded by Captain Cook, a gallant young man of only twenty two years (*sic*) of age, full of vigour and spirits. He was son to the gentleman who long represented the County of Middlesex in Parliament until he was thrown out by the mad popularity of John Wilkes in the year 1768.

The date of the entry is in the autumn of 1798, about six months before the engagement with *La Forte*, which passes unnoticed. Sir Evan Cotton has recently purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall from Messrs. T. H. Parker, 12-A, Berkley Street, Picadilly, an aquatint in colours, 6½ by 10½ published by J. Jenkins, 1816 representing the Capture of the *Forte*.

THE publication of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs* of William Hickey enables us (writes Sir Evan Cotton) to fill a gap in the Indian career of James Paull, the adventurer who found his way into the House of Commons and endeavoured—but without success—to promote the impeachment of Lord Wellesley (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, pp. 44-104). In the account of Paull's suicide in London, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 78) mention is made of a wound received in a duel in India "which latterly deprived him of the use of his right arm." Hickey (p. 125) gives the following account of the incident, which took place in 1795:

James Paull's
First Duel.

My friend Mr. Prendergast, who had left Dacca and had for some time been settled at Lucknow where he carried on very extensive dealings as a merchant, got into an unpleasant dispute with Mr. Paull, a resident of the same place, which Mr. Paull has since made himself so conspicuous not only by his attack upon the public conduct of Lord Wellesley, while Governor-General of India, in the House of Commons, but also from his coming forward as a candidate to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament, and his fighting a duel with that troublesome patriot Sir Francis Burdett. This gentleman, conceiving himself insulted in a large company by Mr. Prendergast on the following morning sent him a challenge, which Mr. Prendergast declined accepting, alleging that he (Paull) was the son of a tailor, and therefore not entitled to call for or expect satisfaction, which was the peculiar right of gentlemen only. This refusal being discussed at Lucknow, the gentlemen of that station were unanimously of opinion that such a plea was inadmissible, as Mr. Paull, no matter in what line of life his father was, had been received and treated everywhere as upon a footing of equality with the rest of the society of Lucknow, and had often been so received by Mr. Prendergast himself. Upon this opinion being communicated to Mr. Prendergast he instantly wrote to Mr. Paull to say that, notwithstanding his sentiments remained unaltered, he had no objections to yielding to the opinions of society, and would consequently meet him when and where he pleased. They went out together the next morning, when Mr. Paull received a wound that confined him to his house for many weeks.

Elsewhere (p. 52) Hickey tells us that Mr. Michael George Prendergast married in December 1791 "Miss Jemima Smith, second daughter of my old *Nassau* shipmates Mr. and Mrs. Smith, a short time previous to which he had been fortunate enough to gain half of the highest prize in the Calcutta lottery, his share amounting to upwards of five thousand guineas." This Smith was Mr. John Smith, surgeon of the *Nassau* in 1779 "an absolute maniac. Uncommonly able in his profession, his general conduct was so eccentric as to justify my having pronounced him a maniac. The nickname by which he generally went was Quicksilver Jack." In 1793 little Quicksilver was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal establishment and came out by the *Sir Stephen Lushington* in November of that year and becoming deranged soon after reaching Calcutta, attacked Dr. Hare, who had received him as a guest in his house, "was secured in a strait waistcoat, in two hours after which he was seized with violent convulsions and died," (p. 108).

MENTION was made in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, p. 220) of Charles Child, school master, who died at Calcutta on June 9, 1817, aged 99 years and 10 months, and who visited Mrs. Mary Carey, of Black Hole celebrity, in company with Mr. Thomas Boileau, Attorney, on August 13, 1799. His residence

A Calcutta Centenarian.

in Calcutta goes back very much further. By his first wife Christiana he had a daughter Lydia born in 1754 and baptized by Gervas Bellamy on Jan. 13, 1755. He was among the Fulta refugees a year later. Apparently Mrs. Child died soon after the recapture of Calcutta for on Sept. 9, 1758, he was married to Jane Direction. He was afterwards made an Attorney or Clerk of the Mayor's Court (Ecclesiastical Records, No. 48). The inscription on his tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery shows that he was born in 1717: he would therefore have been 39 years old in 1756. His third wife Elizabeth *obit* July 31, 1822, aged 63 years and 8 months and is buried by his side. In the Fulta lists which begin with "A List of the persons killed in the Defence of Calcutta and Fort William when attacked by the Moors in June 1756, also those who died in the Black Hole overheated and for want of water", the following names are noted among the "English on board the ships and vessels at Fulta, July 1756: Mr. Child, schoolmaster, Atkinson and Ridge, attorneys, Pyfinch, a writer, Blany, a glass-grinder, Burton, a butcher, Coverly, the goaler, Mackpherson, Cooper, Cocky Lane (Coquelin), a French seafaring gentleman,....., Ling, a musician, Cole, carpenter, Dacco (or Dracco) Conlas (*sic*), three Portuguese priests, Mons. Albert, a French gentleman." Herbert Pyfinch, the "writer" was in the militia. He became an Alderman of the Mayor's Court and resigned the office of "Company's Cooper" in 1760. His son Solomon, who was baptized in Calcutta on April 29, 1757, his mother Sarah being an Armenian and daughter of Mrs. Sophia Arratoon, was one of the jurymen sworn in to try James Augustus Hicky in June 1781 for a libel on the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander. Monsieur Albert who served in the militia was presumably a relative of Madame Duplex. Dacco or Dracco Conlas has always been a puzzler. We believe him to have been Dracoulis, a Greek, but the name is very doubtful. In the London Chronicle, June 9 to 11, 1757, it is given as two names, Dacco, Conlas; but it must be remembered that in those days there were no proof readers. There was another Greek Constantine who put in a bill for provisions in November 1756. A George John Drascoelu a Greek from Philippopolis who died Aug. 20, 1728 is buried in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Murghihatta, Calcutta.

IN the *Times* for Sept. 28, occurs the following letter from Lieut.-Col. John Henry Leslie, Editor of the Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, and Compiler in 1900 of an excellent List of Officers of the Madras Artillery from 1748 to 1861. His address is 8, Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—In a paper by Dr. J. Clarence Webster entitled "A Study of the Portraiture of James Wolfe," read in May, 1925, to the Royal Society of Canada, the following passage occurs:—

"Romney, young and unknown, won his first success in 1763 by exhibiting a painting of the 'Death of Wolfe' at the Free Society of Artists, being awarded a premium because of its fine quality. . . . The picture was bought for 25 guineas by Mr. Rowland Stephenson, a banker, and presented by him to his friend, Harry Verelst, in the Government service of India, who became Governor of Bengal in 1767. The latter placed it in the Council Chamber at Calcutta. Verelst returned to England in 1770 and presumably brought the picture with him. It has, however, disappeared and the present representatives of the family know nothing about it. Through the kindness of Sir Alexander Whyte a thorough search has been made in the various official buildings throughout India, but no trace of the picture has been found."

The disappearance of this picture and all knowledge of its present resting-place seem incomprehensible, but it is hoped that information regarding it may still be forthcoming. Can anyone help?

J. J. COTTON.

Asiaticus.

The following note received from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S. (ret'd.), will be read with much interest. Mr. Oldham's original article appeared in the July-Sept. Number for 1923: serial number 51 of *Bengal: Past and Present* in which Mr. Oldham expressed his belief that Mr. Hawkesworth was "Asiaticus." It will be seen that his deductions were correct.

EDITOR, *Bengal: Past and Present*.

In an article published at pp. 3-12 of the July-September, 1923, issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1) I set forth the results of some research carried out with a view to identify the writer of a book published anonymously at Calcutta in 1803 under the title *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*, etc., which contained certain interesting *Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal* that were republished in different forms in subsequent years. It is unnecessary to review the grounds, based chiefly upon internal evidence obtained from the contents of that book and of another (now very rare) book published (also anonymously) in Calcutta in 1801, entitled *The East India Chronologist*, that led to the conclusion (pp. 11-12) that these two books were the work of one and the same person, and that his name was John Hawkesworth. This finding has now been corroborated from an unexpected source.

Sir William Foster, C.I.E., who has recently been looking through the old files of the *Calcutta Gazette*, has discovered two entries, of which he has kindly given me copies, that appear to confirm satisfactorily the above identification. In the *Calcutta Gazette*, of the 14th June, 1804, the following announcement appeared under the heading "Deaths":—

"On the afternoon of the 29th, i.e. May, on the road from Sultanpore Cantonments to Benares to attend the funeral of Mr. Elder (1), Mr. John Hawkesworth, Compiler of the *East Indian Chronologist and Ecclesiastical Sketches*."

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 21st June, 1804, there appears an advertisement by the Judge and Magistrate, Zillah Mirzapore, that the effects of John Hawkesworth, late of Sultanpore, trader, were under the charge of his court.

Our author seems to have been engaged in trade, and to have moved up country from Calcutta, where he must have resided for some years to have

(1) Sgt.-Major Elder, of the Provincial Battalion, whose death on the 29th May is announced in the same issue.

acquired the varied local information contained in his two books, shortly after publishing *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*. It is very strange that his name should not appear in the *East India Register and Directory* for any of the years 1801, 1802, 1803; and stranger still that a John Hawkesworth should be shown as at Calcutta in the two volumes for the year 1805, "corrected up to" the 8th Nov., 1804, and the 14th May, 1805, respectively. His name does not occur in the published volumes of Hickey's Memoirs.

C. E. A. W. O.

A Lost Zoffany.

Readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* will remember a note by Mr. Julian Cotton entitled "Beniram Pundit," with the sub-heading, 'A Lost Zoffany.' The letter which is now published, received by the Editor from Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri settles in a most satisfactory fashion the fate of Zoffany's picture. It is in the safe custody and possession of Beniram Pundit's lineal descendant, who purchased the picture from Mr. Francis Edwards. I have written to Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri to ask him if he will permit photographs to be taken of the wax bust of Warren Hastings, to which he refers in his letter. The letter is an interesting addition to Mr. Cotton's note, and the readers of "*Bengal: Past and Present*" will join me in thanking Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri for his courtesy in writing.

THE EDITOR,

BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

WARREN HASTINGS AND BENI RAM PANDIT.

In the issue of your journal for October-December, 1925, in the article headed 'A Famous Portrait of Warren Hastings,' it is stated that Devis painted a replica of Warren Hastings' portrait 'which has disappeared.' Reference is made in the articles to Bissumbher Pandit who superintended the picture which Devis was painting for him. May I, as one of the descendants of Beni Ram Pandit and Bishumbher Pandit, inform you that there is in my possession a life size portrait in oil of Warren Hastings which has been handed down from the time of Bishumbher Pandit. It has been sent for repairs to Mr. Frank Harrington, Art Expert of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, and so I cannot say if Devis' name is there. In a communication published in the same issue headed 'Beniram Pandit: A Lost Zoffany' it is stated that a purchaser for Pandit Beni Ram's portrait, which was in the possession of Mr. Edwards, was recently found in a descendant of Beniram, that it was shipped out to him in India, and that it mysteriously disappeared after its arrival in the course of the train journey to 'a remote destination up-country.' I may inform your correspondent that the portrait was purchased by me and is safe and sound in my keeping. I only recently came across the articles in your journal and therefore could not send to you earlier the above information.

It may interest your readers to know that I have got a wax bust of Warren Hastings which I regard as a real work of art. The features of

Warren Hastings are very finely delineated in it. The name and address of the artist is 'Peter Round, sculptor, Portland Road, London, 1805.' I have also got the original *sanaad* relating to the grant of the Bahriabad pargana of which mention is made in the "Ghazipur District Gazetteer." This grant was made to Beniram Pandit. The *Jagir* was subsequent resumed and in its place an annual cash grant of Rs. 25,000 was given for some time.

There is a big garden in my possession which is still known locally as Beni Ram Pandit's garden, and Warren Hastings stayed for some time in the house in which I live. If any of your readers can give any information about Beni Ram Pandit's relations with Warren Hastings which is not contained in published records I will feel obliged.

Yours sincerely,

BAIJNATH DAS SHAPURI.

11-68, Kotwalpura,
Benares City.

Calcutta Historical Society.

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